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Ce guide, conçu de manière à respecter les caractéristiques de l'apprentissage individualisé, permet à l'étudiant adulte de prendre conscience de l'influence de la technologie sur les modes de vie, tout au long de l'histoire. Il comprend trois sections: 1- renseignements généraux; 2- activités d'apprentissage présentées par objectif et comportant des textes théoriques, des exemples, des illustrations, des exercices thématiques et de synthèse; 3- évaluation de l'apprentissage comprenant les corrigés de tous les exercices, des suggestions de lecture et une bibliographie.

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GSD-252

INDIVIDUALIZED LEARNING GUIDE

PRELIMINARY VERSION

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HISTORY

TECHNOLOGY AND WAY OF LIFE

GSD-252

INDIVIDUALIZED LEARNING GUIDE

PRELIMINARY VERSION

Direction de la formation générale des adultes

This individualized learning guide is a translation of *Technologie et mode de vie* (GSD-152), which was produced by the Direction générale de l'éducation des adultes (preliminary version, May 1989).

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This course is part of the MEQ's History program, which falls under the social sciences. It was developed between January and May 1989 by the Commission des écoles catholiques de Québec in collaboration with the Commission scolaire régionale Chauveau and the Commission scolaire régionale Louis-Fréchette. This is a preliminary version. A revised and corrected edition will follow.

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PART I
GENERAL INFORMATION

HOW TO USE THIS INDIVIDUALIZED LEARNING GUIDE

This learning guide was designed as a resource for individualized learning, an approach that encourages you:

- to take an active part in the learning process
- to take responsibility for your own progress
- to work at your own speed
- to put your own experience and knowledge to use.

At regular intervals during the course, you will be able to evaluate your progress, determine the reasons for your mistakes, and find ways to continue to make progress.

You can consult your adult education teacher at any time during the course. If you have any difficulties, do not hesitate to ask for assistance. Your teacher will provide the following, in keeping with your individual needs:

- advice
- guidance
- information
- constructive comments and feedback.

This guide is divided into three parts: General Information, Learning Activities, and Evaluation of Learning.

The first part introduces you to the course and the learning objectives. It also offers some suggestions and explanations designed to help you tackle the course.

The second part contains the learning activities, which are based on the learning objectives of the program. The terminal objective is divided into a series of intermediate objectives, and each of these covers a number of topics developed in texts, examples, illustrations, and exercises.

There are two types of exercises:



- exercises that cover the content of each intermediate objective;
- a self-evaluation form containing exercises that allow you to assess your understanding of the material and whether or not you have attained the terminal objective. These exercises are designed to help you prepare for the official evaluation of the MEQ.

The course is structured in such a way that the material must be covered objective by objective: the questions and exercises allow you to evaluate your learning progress as you proceed.

A number of summaries, identified by the following sign, are included to help you review the content covered under each intermediate objective.



The "Suggested Reading" section lists reference materials which may be of interest to students who wish to explore particular topics.

The third part, entitled Evaluation of Learning, contains answer keys for all the exercises. It also contains a bibliography of the works consulted during the preparation of this course.

GOOD LUCK!

INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE

This course looks at the influence of technology on the ways of life and work patterns in different societies throughout the ages. It takes students on a remarkable technological journey covering 15 000 years of history.

It provides an exciting overview of Canadian history, beginning with a look at the different peoples who lived in this country before the arrival of the Europeans in the 15th century. Inspired by myth, the technology of the native peoples sought harmony with nature. The Europeans, both French and English, learned a lot from these peoples, but eventually the colonists' strong economic, political, and military structures destroyed the traditional native ways of life. The Europeans imposed their way of life and work patterns, which were essentially based in agriculture, on the entire American continent.

In the 19th century, the worldwide rise of capitalism and industrialization radically changed the Canadian way of life. The self-sufficient agricultural society gradually gave way to an urban way of life, with increasing dependence on industrial wages.

In the 19th century, wages barely ensured survival, but in the 20th century, under the influence of Henry Ford, who favoured higher wages and more leisure time for workers, consumerism spread to all spheres of life and to all levels of society. The consumer society came into being. From that day forward, technological and scientific progress were to have far-reaching effects on all facets of social and private life.

INTRODUCTION TO THE OBJECTIVES

A knowledge of the sociocultural and economic factors that have shaped North America, Canada and Québec will help you develop a better understanding of the present. The learning objectives set for this course are intended to help you acquire this knowledge. The objectives and their expected learning outcomes are presented below.

TERMINAL OBJECTIVE	INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVES	EXPECTED LEARNING OUTCOMES
To describe the context of technological changes and their impact on the Western way of life.	1.1 To describe the relationship between technology, nature, and way of life.	1.1 Reflection on the role and place of technology in various human societies.
	1.2 To describe the pre-industrial technologies and the foundations they laid for the dominant way of life.	1.2 Knowledge of the relationship between technology and way of life, from the native peoples to the first colonists.
	1.3 To describe the main technological changes that took place in the industrial era and their impact on the dominant way of life.	1.3 Understanding of changes in the dominant way of life in the 19th century following the rise of industrialization.
	1.4 To identify the main technological factors which have contributed to the rise of the consumer society.	1.4 Knowledge of the rise of consumerism and the limits of technological progress.

GLOSSARY

The terms defined in this glossary are written in capital letters when used for the first time in the text. The definitions given reflect the way the terms are used in this course.

AGRO-FOREST ECONOMY

The historian Normand Séguin defines an agro-forest economy this way:

. . . agricultural and forest activities co-existing in the same space and linked together in a complementary relationship. There are two conditions to its existence: agriculture must have at most very weak links with commercial networks, and agriculture must be clearly subordinate to the forest industry.¹

ANCESTRAL CULTURES

Term used to designate the groups or families from which Canada's native peoples originated (definition used for this course).

BIRTH RATE

Number of births per year per thousand of population in a given community.

COLONIZATION

This term has several definitions. Esdras Minville's definition cited in Linteau's book (see footnote) will be used for this course: Colonization means devoting to agriculture a parcel of land that has previously been unoccupied, uncultivated and, in most cases, wooded.²

¹ Paul-André Linteau et al., *Québec: A History, 1867-1929* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1985), 106.

² Linteau et al., *Québec: A History, 1867-1929*, 104.

CONSUMERISM	The theory that an increasing consumption of goods is economically desirable. Also, a preoccupation with and an inclination toward the buying of consumer goods. ³
CONTINENTAL NOMADISM	Way of life based on large-scale movement, for example, from southern to northern United States; in other words, movement over a distance of 1 000 to 1 500 km or more.
ECONOMIC SHIFT	Passage from one means of subsistence to another.
ECONOMY	Principal means of subsistence on which a culture's survival is based.
ECUMENE	All habitable portions of a land.
EXTENDED FAMILY	Unlike the nuclear family, which is the primary family unit composed of parents and their children, the extended family includes other close relatives (grandparents, aunts, uncles) as well.
LIBERALISM	Doctrine according to which economic freedom or free enterprise should not be hindered.
LIMITED NOMADISM	Way of life based on movement ranging in distance from 100 km to 200 km within the same region, along rivers, streams, or lakes.
LOYALISTS	Name given to those people who remained faithful to the Crown of England following the American Revolution (that is, after 1783), and who moved to Canada.

³ *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*, 1983.

MARKET

All commercial and financial operations connected with a certain category of goods or services within a certain geographical zone; the zone itself; or the people who transact business within the zone. We talk, for example, of the following: supply and demand within a market, product and service markets, labour market, putting a product on the market, precious metals market, and world money markets.⁴

MORTALITY RATE

The number of deaths per year per thousand of population in a given community. Often called death rate.

MUTUAL AID SOCIETY

An organization in which each member contributes a certain amount of money to be used in the event of illness or loss of unemployment. Each member has the right to an indemnity from the rest of the group.

REGIONALISM

Custom or characteristic that is peculiar to a region.

⁴ *Petit Robert 1*, 1986. [Free translation]

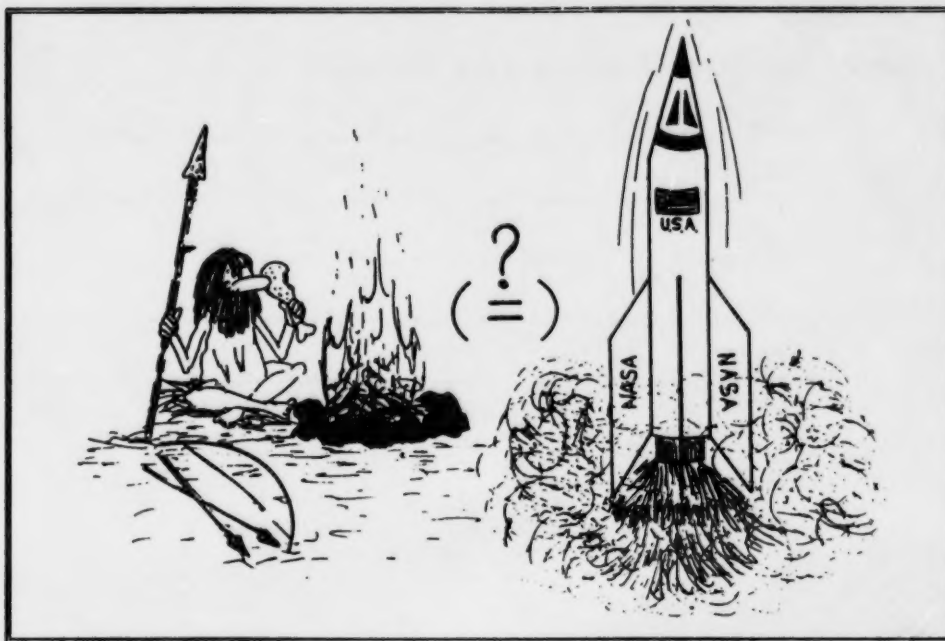
PART II
LEARNING ACTIVITIES

TERMINAL OBJECTIVE 1

To describe the context of technological changes and their impact on the Western way of life.

INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.1

To describe the relationship between technology, nature, and way of life.



Have you ever really thought about what technology is? Technology refers to all of the means by which human beings produce objects to improve their lives.

Technological inventions can improve, or even shape, our relationships with the forces of nature. Human beings, through their use of technology, necessarily influence their environment, a fact clearly demonstrated by today's ecological problems.

In this section, you will look first at the impact of technology, then at the history of technology in different human societies. Some forethought is necessary if you are to understand the connections between the development of technology and science and the evolution of the societies in which these developments occur.

But, before beginning, make a list of the present-day technologies that you consider to be the most advanced. Name at least five.

Example: 1) "In vitro" fertilization (test-tube babies)

2) _____

3) _____

4) _____

5) _____

6) _____

Technology: A Link Between Human Beings and Their Natural and Social Environment

TECHNOLOGY: A MISUNDERSTOOD PHENOMENON

Technology is often considered to be a criterion for progress. It continues to be used as a standard for measuring how civilized an era or a people are.

Perhaps you have heard fellow Canadians ask South Americans, Africans, or Asians questions like: "Do you have cars in your country?" Such questions give the impression that they judge a country's level of civilization according to whether or not there are cars in that country.

This type of situation is not uncommon. And yet why is it that most of us tend to underestimate the originality, ingenuity, and intelligence of early peoples by assuming that they had no technical tools?

This assumption is deeply rooted in our way of thinking. Almost everywhere, from the media to scholarly texts, technology is invariably associated with machines and "gadgets." The complexity and efficiency of these tools supposedly indicate how intelligent and, therefore, how superior one civilization is relative to another.

Think about the images of space travel shown on television. You, along with millions of other viewers, are witnessing a "technological miracle." In fact, everything is arranged so that this event takes on all the aura of magic: the resonant voice of the broadcaster, who describes the complexity of this human adventure and the heroic spirit of the astronauts, right down to the riveting images of the rocket ignition and the spectacular separation of the spacecraft from the booster rockets.

Think about it! After seeing such breathtaking televised spectacles, how can you evaluate the degree of intelligence needed to make prehistoric tools such as Amerindian hunters' bows or the simple tools carved from flint by the early inhabitants of the American continent? How can you compare these objects so far removed in time and shape from our own "tools?" Which technology would win out? The one associated with the Amerindian hunters or the one responsible for the American space shuttle?

In the next few pages, you will be given a chance to ponder these questions. Keep in mind that the purpose here is not to look for the same technological complexity in the bow as in the shuttle, nor to prove the intelligence of early peoples.

1.1 EXERCISE 1

After reading the preceding text, answer the following questions:

- a) Is there a link between intelligence and technological development?

- b) How do you perceive intelligence? What do you consider to be signs of intelligence in a person?

TECHNOLOGY MEANS MORE THAN JUST "MACHINES"

Technology must be more clearly defined if the preceding questions are to be answered satisfactorily.

What is meant by the word "technology?" Generally speaking, technology refers to the wide-ranging means employed to produce objects such as tools (e.g., scissors) and machines (e.g., lawnmowers). Mechanized or not, such objects make life easier. Seen from this angle, every historical era has its own technological objects and ability to create the means to meet its particular needs. However, technology can, in fact, be given a broader definition than just the means of creating objects and machines.

A BROADER DEFINITION OF TECHNOLOGY

Life is essentially activity. From its simplest forms, such as the cell, to its most complex forms, such as human beings, life involves continual movement. For plants, animals, and humans, life is a daily struggle. All living things must either adapt to or control their natural environment. In the case of animals, the struggle to survive is instinctive and inherited. Human beings, on the other hand, use their ability to reason in order to survive, and this becomes more refined from generation to generation.

With each generation, the activities that link human beings and nature change in form and content. These activities have gradually transformed the natural environment, harnessing the forces of nature, such as water, wind, heat, radioactivity, and gravitational pull, to make them beneficial to humans.

Human beings do not differ from animals simply because they can make tools. Humans are unique because they interact with nature within a social framework. The social organization that characterizes human activity guarantees continuity down through the ages and gives a historical dimension to human endeavours. Human activity is thus very different from animal instinct.

These activities through which humans interact with nature within a framework of social norms such as laws, customs, and values are also part of technology.

Let us leave this for now. The definition of technology will be clarified in the following pages. For the moment, remember these three important points:

1. **Technology includes activities in which human beings interact with nature.**
2. **Technological activity is cumulative, developing from one generation to the next. For example, cars, trains, and bicycles would not exist today had the wheel not been invented more than 5 000 years ago.⁵**
3. **Social organization is an important factor in the transmission of technical knowledge from one era to the next. Society is living testimony to all the activities in which humans have interacted with nature since the dawn of time.**

⁵ The Egyptians knew about the existence of the wheel at the time of the Hyksos invasion, circa 1640 BC, but the wheel was invented long before that invasion.

1.1 EXERCISE 2

How humans interact with nature:

- a) **By adapting to the natural environment:** To adapt to Canadian winters, we need warm clothing, a heating system that works, and so on. Give other examples of ways in which we adapt to the natural environment.

- b) **By transforming the natural environment to make it respond to their needs:** for example, using water to produce electricity or using radioactivity in nuclear medicine. Give other examples of ways in which we transform the natural environment to make it respond to our needs.

TOOLS AND MACHINES ARE ONLY THE OUTWARD SIGNS OF OUR INTERACTION WITH NATURE

Unlike the first definition of technology, which restricts technology to its mechanical aspects (machines, tools, videos, and so on), the second definition provides a broader and more historical perspective of the phenomenon. (See page 16.)

To be more specific, what we choose to call "technology" is more than simply the means of producing the objects we use to interact with nature. It is also the actual activities which link us with nature. Therefore, whether the activities involve a bow or a space shuttle is of little importance. What matters is that in their goals and their purpose, these activities are unique to humans.

Yet these activities are not restricted to the making of increasingly complex tools and machines. In fact, these are only the most obvious outward signs of technology.

Before creating tools and machines, human beings had to understand the problems associated with nature. They had to solve the problems posed by cold, heat, the need to search for food and to move from place to place, and so on. Solving all of these problems required a long process of trial and error, of groping in the dark for answers. Much time had to elapse and much experimentation had to occur before human communities were able to find appropriate solutions.

Hence, regardless of time or place, human technological activity is characterized by the human capacity to ask questions about the natural environment in order to develop the means to harness natural forces in a rational way. In fact, no matter how far back we travel in time, we see that all civilizations have left behind concrete evidence which shows how they shaped their environment and the original ways they found to adapt to or control nature. We often overlook this complex and creative process because of our fascination with the objects it produces, be they tools, machines, or any other objects.

Try to imagine a scene in which an actor played the role of such an object. What would the actor say? Perhaps something like the following:

I am the visual manifestation of the actions of the human beings who created me. But I am not what is most important. What is most important is the human activity, both intellectual and physical, that brought me into being. The most important thing is that which cannot be seen. Unfortunately, you human beings tend to mistake effect for cause, invention for inventor, the result of the creative act for the act of creation itself. You think that I am the very personification of intelligence, yet without you, I would be nothing but a heap of scrap metal. You have pushed human intelligence out of the spotlight and put me in its place.

**TOOLS AND MACHINES BEAR THE MARK OF THE PAST: HUMAN
TECHNOLOGICAL ACTIVITY IS THEREFORE CUMULATIVE**

Technical objects are the by-products of their era. Each society is proud of having produced inventions that are better than those of preceding civilizations. Yet, every invention bears the mark of the past. The origins of today's inventions go back a long way.

Of all the inventions born of the modern scientific mind, none surpasses the computer. But if you think about it, is the computer not a state-of-the-art, automated, glorified version of the centuries-old Chinese abacus?



Technology and Way of Life

WAY OF LIFE

"Humans are social animals," Ibn Khaldūn once said.⁶ Society, with its customs, values, laws, and constraints, is an essential dimension of human life. Each society has its own particular way of life, which determines the overall organization of activities such as work, consumption patterns, and leisure. The way of life also determines the ideological and technical standards that govern these activities, and it serves to define a society's relationship with the world at large. In the following pages, you will see the role played by technology in defining a society's relationship with the rest of the world and how this role relates to the way of life of that society.

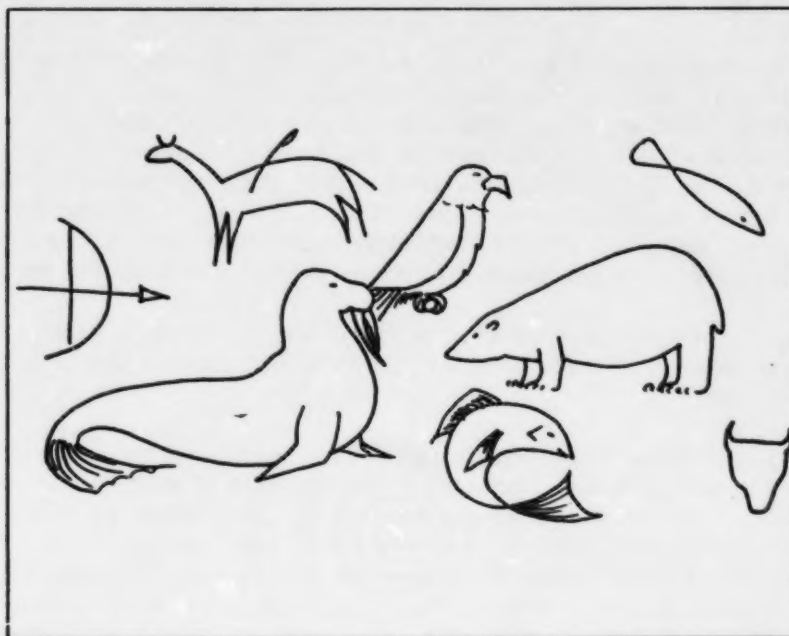
Technology is, of course, a feature of all periods of history. However, its form, content, and scope have been determined by the social and cultural aspects of each era.

Some early civilizations tried to control, regulate, and even discourage the use of mechanical technology, that is, machines and tools, in favour of social and cultural achievement. This was the case in Ancient Greece and China, where the relationship with nature was expressed mainly through magic or the pure sciences, such as geometry and mathematics, rather than through machines or tools. Their scientific and cultural skills, together with their technological stagnation, were the result of an economy based on slavery. Given the fact that all heavy work and manual labour were done by slaves, the need to create tools and machines was not a social priority. The disdain which free citizens felt for slaves extended to the work done by these slaves; hence, the lack of interest of these Greek and Chinese societies in improving the technology involved in manual work.

Many centuries later, in the 1800s, industrialization prompted Europeans (the English, French, German, Dutch) to focus on improving mechanical technology. In the 20th century, technological advances have become symbols of social progress. Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times* eloquently illustrates the excitement created by European technology. However, with technological triumphs, do people not risk becoming little more than an extension of the machine, as they do in Chaplin's movie? Will people have the strength to control the inventions that threaten the human imagination and mind? What will become of technological progress if humans lose their mental stability, as does the worker in Chaplin's film?

⁶ Ibn Khaldūn, *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* (Paris: Sindbad, 1968). (Free translation)

What about progress throughout history? In the following pages, this question will lead us into a discussion of the ways in which certain peoples, in particular, the native peoples of America, have sought to control their use of technology.



WHEN THE GREAT SPIRIT WAS EVERYWHERE . . .

We can surmise that the slow progress of technology in certain hunting societies, such as those of the native peoples of Canada, is indicative of strong social and communal pressure to control the growth and direction of technology. These peoples communicated with the natural environment through magic, dreams and dance. Every member of the community had to undergo a systematic initiation to every technological discovery. In fact, all of their activities, whether they involved the use of tools (as in hunting, fishing and agriculture) or not (i.e., activities having to do with dreams, magic or illness) implied an in-depth knowledge of the origin of the activity.

Before the young members of the community were allowed to dance, hunt, or fish, for example, they had to know the sacred roots of the activity. This did not mean simply knowing the origins of the technology; the initiate had to go back in time, figuratively speaking, to experience the circumstances, the atmosphere, and the rationale underlying the origin of the activity.

This knowledge of the sacred origins of an activity was required among the native peoples of America. Passed on from generation to generation, hunting became a sort of mystical communion between hunter and prey. Killing an animal was an act of gratitude to the Lord of the Deer, who, by allowing this act, offered the members of the community a means of subsistence. Because animals were believed to belong to the Lord of the Deer, care had to be taken to avoid wasting the flesh of these animals.

A hunter therefore had to be initiated to these truths and had to understand them in order to hunt properly. More specifically, a hunter had to understand the genealogy of an animal if he wished to master the animal. Any questioning of the sacred relationship between animal and hunter might have destroyed the entire community. The native peoples of Canada expressed their gratitude to these animals in words such as the following:

We offer thanks and are ever-grateful
To all those animals who
Are known to us.
They live in the forests
Or other hidden places
And sometimes we see them.
They give us food, clothing, shelter,
And beauty.
They give us joy and peace of mind
Because we know that they are carrying out
The mission given them by the Creator.
For all these reasons,
We give thanks to our brothers,
The animals.⁷

The entire history of the relationship between nature and these peoples is recorded in a wealth of myths through which the native peoples learned to repeat the primordial gestures that were basic to many of their activities. These myths were taught to youths during their initiation to the adult world. Failure to remember the origin of an action, an activity, or an item necessary to survival was thought to trigger illness, famine, or death.

Here is the description of what happened to an Australian aborigine who had forgotten the sacred origin of iron; while building a barge, he hurt himself badly on a piece of steel.

⁷ *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, VI: 3-4 (1977), 51-57. [Free translation]

He set about weaving a charm the way magic healers do. He sang about the origin of iron, but he could not remember the words that would heal the open wound caused by the steel blade. Finally, after having solicited the help of other magicians, he cried, ' Now I remember the origin of iron . . . Air is the mother. Water is the oldest brother, Fire the second oldest, and Iron the youngest of the three. Ukko, the Great Creator, separated Earth from Water and made soil appear where water had once been, but Iron was not yet born. Ukko rubbed the palms of his hands on his left knee. Hence were born the three fairies who became the mothers of Iron.'⁸

To be healed, the aborigine had to remember the origin of iron and recreate that moment. Knowledge of the significance of a remedy was an essential part of the healing process. The native peoples of Canada said as much when they gave thanks to medicinal plants:

We offer thanks
And are ever-grateful
For all medicinal plants.
The Creator has told them
To take care of our pains and illnesses.
Our people will always know
Their indigenous names,
For these are the names we will call them by
When we are weak and ill
And because the power of healing has been given to these plants.
They come in many forms and have many different uses.
It is for these reasons that they are so important in our lives.
Some among us have been given knowledge of the medicinal plants,
And for this too we thank you.⁹

These people believed in the importance of understanding the origin of objects. This belief made technical knowledge an essential condition for carrying out any activity. Members of the community had to learn and use this knowledge throughout their lives since the survival of the community depended largely on the dissemination of this knowledge. A prosperous community was one in which all members knew the origin of commonly used objects. This knowledge gave the community power over objects, and allowed its members to use these objects for the common good (which, in turn, ensured harmony between technology and way of life).

⁸ Mircea Eliade, *Aspects du mythe* (Paris: Gallimard, 1963), 27-28. [Free translation]

⁹ *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, VI: 3-4 (1977), 51-57. [Free translation]

1.1 EXERCISE 3

- a) What are the two main differences in the ways human beings and animals attempt to adapt to the environment?

- b) Society has absolutely no role to play in technological discovery, which is the exclusive domain of inventors. True or false? Explain your answer.

- c) Why is the definition of technology incomplete if it is restricted to technological tools?

1.1 EXERCISE 4

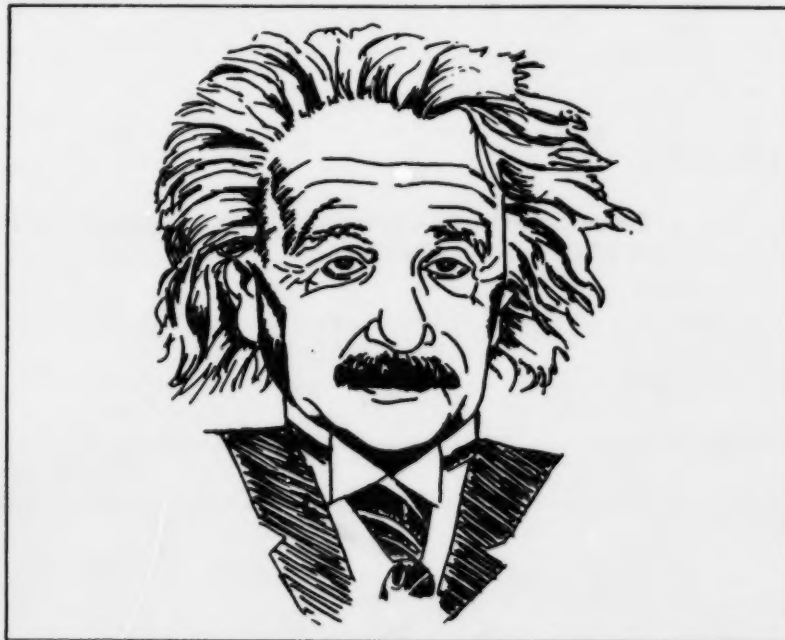
- a) How did the Greeks and the Chinese express their relationship with nature? Explain one of the main consequences.

- b) Explain why the native peoples of Canada thought it was important to know the origins of the techniques they used.

WHEN SCIENCE BECAME TODAY'S MYTH

While all members of primitive societies understood and mastered their concept of the relationship between human beings and nature, in modern societies only scientists have an extensive knowledge of this relationship.

Like the myths of origin, science bases its discoveries and its technical creations on past experience. But the very advancement of science presupposes a questioning of this past. Scientific progress is a process of continual revolt against the past. Scientific progress severs modern societies from both the past and the present; progress implies perpetual striving for a better future.



Albert Einstein

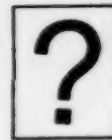


Technology is often seen as a criterion for progress. In people's minds, the complexity and efficiency of machines and technological objects are indicative of the intelligence of the users, and, by extension, of the superiority of one civilization over another.

Basically, technology refers to the wide-ranging means employed to produce objects, such as machines or tools, which improve our lives. But in a broader sense, human technology includes logical activities that are enriched from generation to generation within the norms of each society. Every technological activity, every invention, reflects the past.

Technology is a feature of all eras. However, the form, content, and thrust of technology are determined by the way of life of each society at a given time. In the 20th century, technological development tends to be a symbol of social progress. But in the past, some societies (such as that of Canada's native peoples) used other means to communicate with nature. Their magic, dance, and dreams were "technological" activities that were appropriate and unique to them.

Review Exercises



INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.1

To describe the relationship between technology, nature, and way of life.

1.1 EXERCISE 5

- a) What is meant by technology?

- b) Technology should be used as a standard for measuring the degree of civilization of any given era. True or false? Explain your answer.

- c) Native peoples had to know the origins of their technologies because they could not write. True or false? Comment.

Suggested Reading

Eliade, Mircea. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. New York: HBR, 1959.

Harris, Marvin. *Cows, Pigs, War and Witches: The Riddles of Culture*. New York: Vintage Books, 1974.

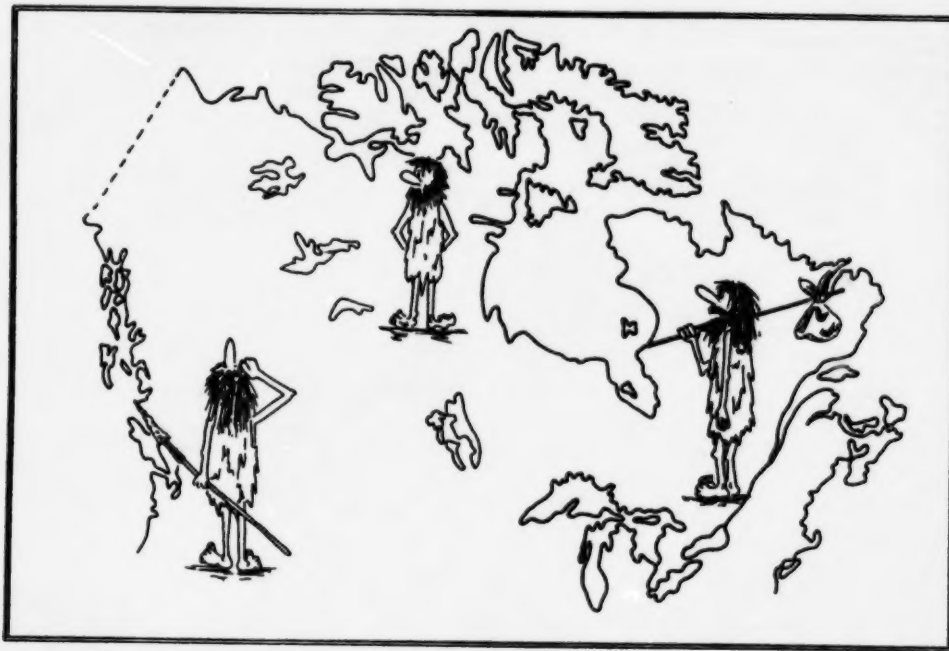
Highwater, Jamake. *Ritual of the Wind: North American Indian Ceremonies, Music, and Dance*. New York: Alfred Van der Marck Editions, 1984.

TERMINAL OBJECTIVE 1

To describe the context of technological changes and their impact on the Western way of life.

INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.2

To describe the pre-industrial technologies and the foundations they laid for the dominant way of life.



The terms "technique," "technology," and "way of life" should be a little more familiar to you by now. In the following section, you will see how they apply to Québec and the rest of Canada.

In order to fully understand the importance of the link between technology and way of life in the 20th century, it is necessary to go back in time.

Our story begins about 15 000 years ago, when human beings first set foot in America. The evolution of the way of life and technology—from the native cultures and societies to those of the French colonizers in the 16th century—is examined, as is the culture shock that resulted from the interaction between the different ways of life and technologies. This unit ends in the 18th century with the British conquest, which drastically changed society and paved the way for pre-capitalist and capitalist ways of life. These are discussed in the sections on the next two intermediate objectives.

In conclusion, this unit examines the impact of technology on native, Canadian, and Québec history, but always within the framework of the technology/way of life theme.

BACKGROUND: CANADA, A VAST LAND

Canada is an immense country that has the second largest surface area in the world, after that of the former USSR. It is so vast that in 1986 the population density was only 2.6 inhabitants per square kilometre.

Canada is situated on a continent that is thought to have been inhabited for only 15 000 years. Africa (the cradle of human civilization) has, on the other hand, been inhabited for more than 500 000 years.

Important differences can be observed when comparing this country's population density with that of countries like the former USSR, the United States, and China. Two factors account for these differences: the relatively recent appearance of human beings on the continent (15 000 years ago), and the climate, which ranges from temperate to polar (thereby making two-thirds of Canada practically uninhabitable).

If we momentarily disregard Inuit villages in northern Canada and a few mining towns, we can say that Canada's ECUMENE consists of a strip of land extending some 4 000 km from east to west and some 100 to 200 km from north to south. The following map clearly illustrates this. The density of the dots in an area indicates the density of its population.



Climate has always played an important role in the history of Canada and Québec. It has affected the way of life and has limited technology to that which can be adapted to the natural environment. Nevertheless, the North American peoples have overcome climatic obstacles and managed to exert some control over their evolution.

"Soft" and "Hard" Technology

In order to analyze the correlation between human beings, technology, and way of life, you will need to know the meaning of "soft" and "hard" technology.

When a form of technology is developed in harmony with the environment (regardless of the type of environment), it is called "soft" technology. Soft technology implies a full understanding of how its use will affect the environment.

Soft technology, therefore, respects the laws that govern the natural environment. Holistic medicine (acupuncture and homeopathy) is one example; organic farming is another.

At the other end of the spectrum is "hard" technology, that is, technology that has a negative impact on the environment, such as the use of chemical pesticides and fertilizers or clear-cutting.

Note that it is not the technology itself that poses a danger, but rather its user-designer, in other words, human beings.

Try to give seven other examples of each of these concepts:

Soft technology	Hard technology

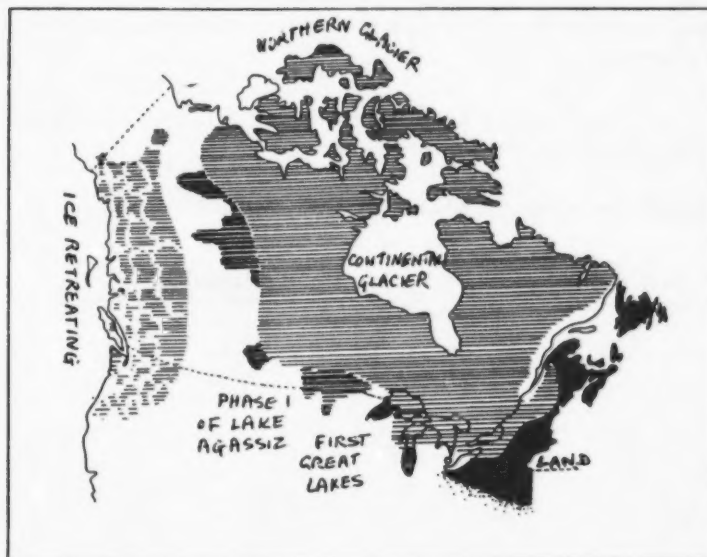
1.2 EXERCISE 6

What distinguishes "soft" technology from "hard" technology?

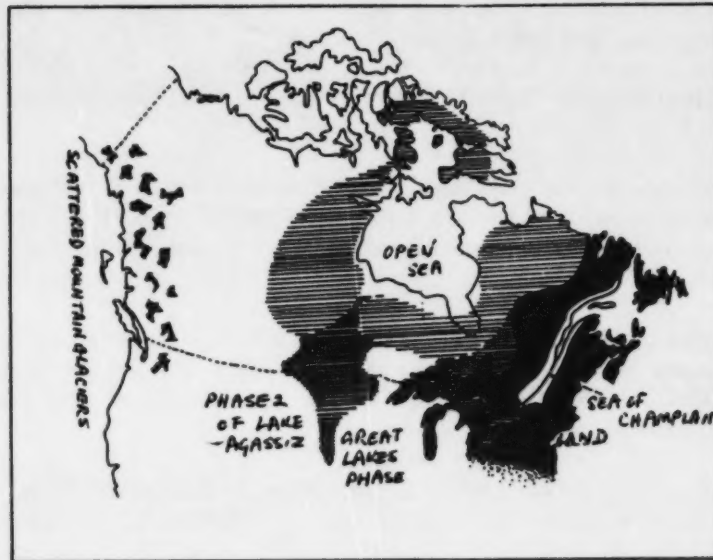
Way of Life and Technology of the Native Peoples and Their Ancestors

The history of the native people is a rich tale of adaptation to the environment. Canadian history per se began only 15 000 years ago for the simple reason that, until then, Canada was covered by glaciers, as can be seen in the two maps that follow:

11 000 years ago



6 000 years ago



Despite the unfavourable conditions, a number of early cultures took root in these lands as the ice retreated. They evolved in different ways to form the **ANCESTRAL CULTURES** of the later Amerindian societies. Let us look at these ancestral cultures before venturing into 16th-century Amerindian history.

To help you follow their history, the different cultures have been classified according to their time period:

- Paleoindian period: 15 000 to 8 000 years ago
- Archaic period: 8 000 to 3 000 years ago
- Woodland period: 3 000 years ago to the arrival of the Europeans.

PALEOINDIAN: 15 000 TO 8 000 YEARS AGO

As you study the different economic structures, the dynamics of the way of life/technology relationship will come into focus. What follows is an overview because the facts about this long period of time are scanty.

Earlier Paleoindian: 15 000 to 12 000 years ago—economy based on big-game hunting

Big-game hunting was the main means of subsistence 15 000 to 12 000 years ago. This type of economy was characterized by **CONTINENTAL NOMADISM**: human populations were constantly on the move from north to south in pursuit of their quarry (mammoths, mastodons, musk-ox, bison).

Simple weapons and tools were part of this way of life. Weapons often consisted of stones and spears that were used to fell and kill animals. Hunters used tools to cut up and skin animals. Cooperative hunting is evidenced by the discovery of mammoth carcasses containing ten or more spear punctures.

This period was characterized by the use of plano projectile points. Various groups of hunting peoples used tools such as the cutters, trimmers, handaxes, side scrapers, and burins pictured below.



These tools were made of stone or bone.

Later Paleoindian: 12 000 to 8 000 years ago—economy based on small-game hunting and gathering

The gradual disappearance of large mammals forced the native societies to hunt smaller animals and change their way of life. They had to resort to **LIMITED NOMADISM** based on the hunting of small game (which migrated less extensively than the large mammals) and the gathering of wild plants.

An important technical tool—the flint spear—appears at this time. It underwent constant improvement and eventually became a very effective weapon.

The technology of this era was not particularly distinctive, with the exception of flint projectile points, knives, and scrapers (used to treat hides). The projectile points, each equipped with a rounded piece at the base to make it easier to mount the head on the shaft, were roughly crafted.

These ways of life and technologies spread throughout the Americas, from Canada to Cape Horn (the southern tip of South America).

There were five main American cultures, each distinguished by the fine craftsmanship of their projectile points, which became increasingly refined as craftsmen honed their skills. The names given to these five cultures reflect the places where spear artifacts were found; each culture existed during a specific period:

SANDIA (15 000–12 000 years ago)
(New Mexico)



LLANO (Clovis) (15 000–11 000 years ago)
(New Mexico)



FOLSOM (11 000–9 000 years ago)
(New Mexico)



PLAINVIEW (10 000-7 500 years ago)
(Texas)



PLANO (9 500-7 000 years ago)
(Colorado)



The flint projectile point and the appearance of an economy based on small-game hunting and gathering mark the two periods described above. The way of life was nomadic, evolving in part toward a restricted form of nomadism. The wide variety of cultures that stretched from north to south throughout the American continent shows that these economies were well adapted to the environment and that the technology of the time, despite its simplicity, made subsistence relatively easy.

Cooperative hunting may have been as important an economic factor as the kinds of weapons used, at least in the case of the economy based on big-game hunting. This brings us to an era when substantial restructuring of this type of economy occurred.

1.2 EXERCISE 7

- a) What were the main features of the cultures that existed in the Americas from 15 000 to 12 000 years ago?

- b) Two means of subsistence appeared from 12 000 to 8 000 years ago. What were they?

- c) Societies that had adopted small-game hunting and gathering as a means of subsistence necessarily practised a restricted form of nomadism. True or false?

Over the course of 4 000 years, from 12 000 to 8 000 years ago, big game (mammoths and other animals) disappeared from the continent as the result of profound climatic changes. The human societies that had previously relied on big-game hunting for subsistence had to change their habits. For a while, they had to survive by eating small mammals, decaying carcasses, insects, and seeds from wild plants.

It would seem that two main factors contributed to this state of affairs. First of all, weather conditions changed radically during this period. Global warming caused gigantic floods as the continental glacier melted; this was compounded by a chronic drought that dried up the soil, which had been rich in grasses that nourished the large mammals.

Secondly, hunting technology, with its constant improvements, had drastically reduced herds and affected their capacity to reproduce. This would also seem to indicate that there was a dense human population in America 12 000 to 8 000 years ago.

This later Paleoindian economy, marked by a significant change in technology, was to have a major influence on the future of the continent.

APPROXIMATE DATES OF THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE LARGE MAMMALS	
Woolly mammoth	10 000 BC
Tapir, giant ground sloth	9 500 BC
Sloth and long-horned bison	8 500 BC
Camel, giant armadillo, and Columbian mammoth	7 500 BC

The changing context presented a new challenge to the human ability to adapt to the environment. The capacity to adapt and the means of adaptation have always varied. Since ways of adapting differ from group to group (and even from person to person, although general patterns do exist), some allowance has to be made for REGIONALISMS in our interpretation of these historical (technically, prehistorical) situations that are so far removed from us in time.

The period that has just been discussed is known as the Paleoindian period. An economy based on the hunting of large game was adopted by these Paleoindian cultures. This led to the development of flint projectile points, which ensured more productive hunting.

These hunting communities, under the leadership of one very competent hunter, cooperated in order to overpower their prey.

Throughout the time they occupied the Americas, these communities opted for different means of subsistence. Some continued big-game hunting, while others preferred gathering and small-game hunting, which gradually changed the nature of nomadism. The ability to adapt to the environment, and not just instinct, was clearly at work.

These choices and changes appear to have been conscious and deliberate, based on knowledge of the environment.

Finally, the radical climatic upheavals that caused the disappearance of certain species of plants and animals some 7 000 years ago proved to be only temporary setbacks for the cultures in question. These cultures met the challenge and survived.

Before continuing, try to answer a few questions.

1.2 EXERCISE 8

- a) Between 12 000 and 8 000 years ago, several large species of animals disappeared. Explain briefly how this happened.

- b) What effect did the disappearance of large mammals have on later Paleoindian societies?

**ARCHAIC PERIOD:
8 000 TO 3 000 YEARS AGO**

ECONOMY BASED ON HUNTING - FISHING - GATHERING



Misfortune is sometimes a blessing in disguise. This was, in fact, the case after the Paleoindian period. The American continent, inhabited at that time from north to south, began to experience relatively rapid change.

After the retreat of the glaciers, the part of the continent that is now Canada became increasingly habitable. About 9 000 years ago, some groups had already settled in what was to become southern Québec and Ontario. These groups adopted a way of life that involved three means of subsistence.

The main feature of this way of life was a more general exploitation of the environment (land animals, aquatic animals, and plants) through hunting, fishing, and gathering. As this period drew to a close, items such as bows, arrows, traps, nets, and baskets were commonplace in daily life.

Techniques were also refined. The native peoples polished tools (still made of stone and bone) and knew how to use certain edible plants to improve their diet; women played an essential role in this regard. Finally, fishing opened up a whole new world to them—a world that was sacred, magical, and spiritual.

Hunting continued to be their mainstay, while fishing and gathering provided additional means of subsistence. Hunting parties kept to their own territories during the winter months. During the summer and fall, several bands would gather to trade and encourage intermarriage. The resulting mixed marriages guaranteed the groups' continuation. The extent of their technical know-how is still impossible to evaluate. What is known is that they observed rituals in honour of the dead and held ceremonial activities such as dances and games.

At different points along the way, between 9 000 and 3 000 years ago, several ECONOMIC SHIFTS in favour of hunting took place, and the two other means of subsistence became secondary for some groups. Other groups living close to the ocean or rivers chose fishing; hunting and gathering became their secondary means of subsistence.

Many of these groups took up an entirely new way of life which was to become the basis for contemporary Amerindian (particularly Iroquois) culture. The revolutionary way of life that grew out of the knowledge which the native peoples had gained in their capacity as gatherers was what we know as agriculture.

The development of agriculture wrought major changes in the overall activities of the populations that adopted it and modified the material culture of the population in question.¹⁰

Agriculture presupposes a sedentary way of life: settling in one specific place on arable land around which villages eventually spring up. This concept will come up again.

¹⁰ *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, VIII: 1-2 (1978), 31. [Free translation]

In Central America, agriculture became a fact of life approximately 9 000 years ago and in Europe, 11 000 years ago, but in the Canadian part of North America, it began only about 3 000 years ago. This was not because Canadian Amerindians were intellectually slower than other native peoples, but simply because the need to adopt this way of life was felt later. This would seem to prove that human beings progress at their own pace and adapt to their environment as a result of deliberate decisions and action.

THINK ABOUT IT . . .

Do you think that someone who uses a microwave oven is more intelligent than a person who uses a conventional oven?

Do you regard technology as an absolute criterion of intelligence?

Before discussing native cultures per se, here are a few questions for you to answer.

Summarize what you have learned about the Archaic period.

1.2 EXERCISE 9

- a) What three activities are the mainstay of an economy based on three means of subsistence?

- b) From 3 000 BC onward, the way of life in what is now Canada was sedentary. True or false?

- c) Explain in what way this historical period confirms the truth of the saying, "Bad luck can be a blessing in disguise."

- d) Explain why the following statement is false: "Archaic societies in Canada were closed societies."

WOODLAND PERIOD: FROM 3 000 YEARS AGO TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE EUROPEANS

INUIT AND AMERINDIAN ECONOMIES

This brings us to the height of native civilization, the point at which the European colonizers came on the scene in the 16th century.

This period, from 3 000 to 500 years ago, was characterized by the appearance of pottery and by the use of the forest for settlement and as a source of livelihood. To form an overview of this period, we shall examine Inuit and Amerindian cultures by means of specific examples that illustrate the relationship between way of life and technology and the changes that occurred in both.

Our discussion of the Inuit cultures will be based on examples related to hunting and dwellings. Discussion of the Amerindian cultures will focus on fishing and the Algonquin, medicine as practised by the Athabaskan, and agriculture and the Iroquois.

The Inuit: hunting

The Inuit are thought to have arrived in North America about 4 000 years ago. They lived in isolated groups near ice-floes. Whales and seals were their main quarry. The Inuit way of life was nomadic at first, but became increasingly sedentary as hunting and fishing techniques improved. When the Inuit first occupied the Far North, their hunting technique was simple: they waited for seals to surface, and when they did, the hunters harpooned them. Hunting techniques eventually became more refined, and this allowed the Inuit to survive in one of the world's severest climates.

Two features characterized the Inuit: their many inventions and their special relationship with tools or weapons. The Inuit were responsible for many important inventions: the kayak, dog sleds (which facilitated transportation), cleats, snow goggles (which prevented snow blindness), and the floating harpoon, which, as the name itself suggests, was equipped with a sealskin floating device that inflated like a balloon to keep the harpooned animal afloat. This technique alone was enough to improve whale and seal hunting because it exhausted the animal more quickly. This new technology shortened hunting time, an important consideration in the Far North, where prolonged exposure to the elements could be fatal.

What is even more surprising is the relationship the Inuit had with the technologies they used. For the Inuit, tools and weapons had a mystical nature and each instrument was unique. Everything was made with an attention to detail that elevated their craftsmanship to artistry. Working patiently into the night, the hunter, while crafting his tools, entered into contact with the spirit of the animal that would one day be felled. Weapons bore the mark of the creator's personal history.

Inuit tools - harpoons



The Inuit: dwellings

As the Inuit way of life became increasingly sedentary, their dwellings also changed. The early dwellings, made of animal skins stretched over driftwood washed up by Arctic tides, were extremely uncomfortable in winter because of inadequate insulation.

As time passed, these shelters were built more solidly and driftwood was replaced by whalebone. Hunting practices also influenced housing. Thus, little villages sprang up to provide better protection against wolves, bears, and winter itself. Sometimes the dwellings were linked by underground snow tunnels so that people could meet and socialize. These dwellings, equipped with hearths, were still difficult to heat because of the hole in the ceiling where smoke could escape. It was probably a concern for comfort that prompted the invention of the oil lamp. This lamp, made of pottery and stone, used blubber as fuel. It provided more heat and light than fireplaces did because the blubber burned without creating smoke. Oil lamps could also be used safely in igloos.

The Inuit met the challenges of the Far North. In spite of the apparent simplicity of their society, the Inuit developed new technology.

Kayaks, dog sleds, oil lamps, igloos, and floating harpoons are all eloquent proof of the capacity of the Inuit to adapt to the environment.

Their way of thinking reflected their respect for the environment and all they held sacred.

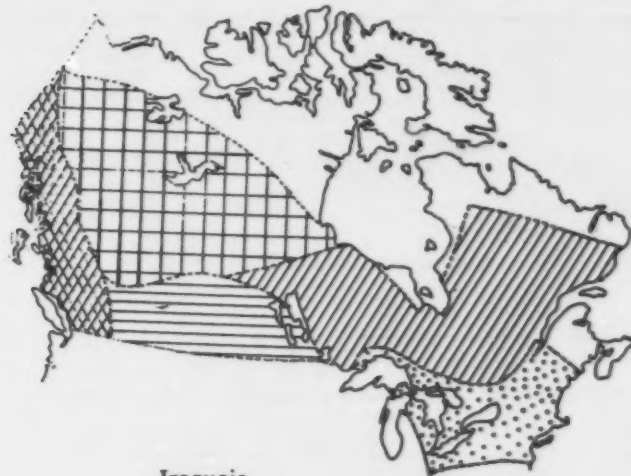
1.2 EXERCISE 10

- a) What is distinctive about Inuit weapons and tools?

- b) How did the oil lamp improve the quality of life for the Inuit?

The Amerindians

The Amerindians comprised three main linguistic groups: the Algonquian, the Athabascan, and the Iroquoian. They were dispersed throughout North America, not just in the Canadian part of the continent. The following map shows where they lived in Canada:



Iroquois
Algonquin
Plains Indians
Mackenzie Basin Indians
Northwest Coast Indians
Inuit (Eskimos)

The Amerindians and the ocean (the Algonquin)

At its peak, before the arrival of the Europeans, Algonquin culture was still nomadic; this civilization was found in what are now Ontario and Québec. Each region had its own specialized economy. In the west, there was hunting, while in the east there was fishing, along with hunting and gathering. The tribes bartered among themselves, thus acquiring a variety of goods which they did not have to produce for themselves.

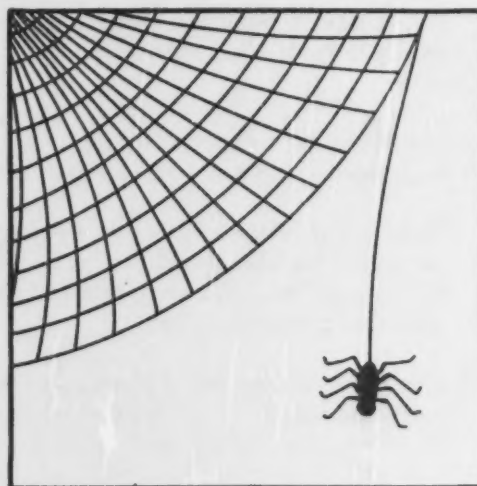
This nomadic people was very superstitious, and perhaps justifiably so. Let us try to understand the relationship they saw between the fisherman and his net in terms of the tool (the net) being an extension of the fisherman's hand, and thus of his action on the environment.

"The Amerindians of Michilimackinac said that nets had been invented by Machabous, the Great Hare, after he had watched a spider spinning its web."¹¹

In this legend, the Great Hare is the creator of all things, including fish, to which he gave speech, an essential condition to the human/fish relationship.

The net is a mediator between two worlds. It cannot be cast into the water unless due respect is paid to the other world. Because both fish and nets are creations of the Great Hare, human beings are justified in fishing, provided that they observe specific rites.

The fisherman must not cast a net that still bears the odour of dead fish. If he does, the spirit of the dead fish will communicate with the living fish, and the fishing excursion will not be successful.



After the fishing expedition, the fishbones cannot be destroyed, by feeding them to the dogs, for example. This would insult the spirit of the fish, which would, in their reincarnated form, tell their fellow fish. The fishermen would be put under an evil spell and have nothing but bad luck thereafter.

This is a good example of how the way of life and technology adopted by the Amerindians worked in harmony with the environment. The way of life influenced the technology and vice-versa.

¹¹ *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec*, III: 3-4 (1973), 48. [Free translation]

The Amerindians and illness (the Athabaskan)

Today, with our advanced medical technology and powerful pharmaceutical industry, we tend to focus more on rapid cures than on prevention of illness. "Just give me some pills, please" is an often-heard request, possibly because, for a variety of reasons, we do not want to wait for the natural healing process to occur.

For the Athabaskan, illness had a special significance. Sickness was synonymous with bad conduct. A sore throat or a headache might indicate a lack of sharing with others, a direct insult to a member of the group, a lack of respect for the dead, cruelty towards others (humans or animals), incest, homicide, sexual perversion, and so on.

The illness did not necessarily appear at the time of the misconduct. It could strike long after the fact and with varying degrees of severity.

There was only one remedy that was considered real: public confession, which guaranteed the support and forgiveness of the clan or band, except, of course, when the offender lied. Offenders who died after having lied to the other members of the tribe died unforgiven.

This is a surprising but interesting approach; illness had a social dimension, not just a purely individual one, in terms of the support that resulted from a public confession. The confession to misconduct served as an example to others.

This way of dealing with crime and punishment can be attributed to the fears experienced by nomadic groups: fear of death, of the unknown, of famine, and of an uncertain future, among other things.

Is there a similarity between these confessions made by the native peoples and the techniques used in modern-day group therapy to help people break out of their isolation and fear? To a certain extent, but the analogy can be carried only so far.

The Amerindians and agriculture

Iroquois women's role in agriculture

In the eyes of the first Europeans who came to Canada, the Iroquois culture seemed to be the most advanced of all the native cultures. They adopted an agricultural way of life approximately 3 000 years ago. They cleared large areas around their encampments, having chosen to live a sedentary way of life. They had survived by fishing and hunting until game and fish became less abundant, at which time they had changed over to agriculture. It would seem that they had a wide knowledge of plants, acquired through their experience with gathering.

Many clues point to women as the driving force behind this technological change; two of these will be discussed here. Iroquois society was matriarchal, that is, descent was traced through the maternal line; women elected tribal chiefs and could remove them from power.

Furthermore, women assumed the role of gatherers around the encampments and therefore developed a familiarity with plants, which the male hunters did not have the chance to acquire.

These clues show how new social alternatives, new forms of social organization, open up to a society when it adopts a new way of life or technology. In this case, the change from hunting to agriculture gave women an important role to play in the struggle for survival. It should be noted that the Iroquois were not the only ones to have a matriarchal society.

Conclusions about prehistoric Canada

The section on this first part of Intermediate Objective 1.2 has included much detail for several reasons. First of all, it covers an important period which has too long been overlooked, as if there were nothing to be learned from it and as if it had had no influence on technology today. We hope this discussion has given you food for thought.

Secondly, these native cultures and the efforts, ideas, and ingenuity of their people, from which we still benefit today, deserve our respect. If you wish to know more about the daily life of the native peoples, the Native Societies course will be of interest to you.

1.2 EXERCISE 11

- a) What leads us to believe that Algonquin fishermen adopted a way of life that respected the environment?

- b) In what way did illness create a social bond among the Athabaskan?

- c) What are the reasons for the hypothesis that Iroquois women developed agriculture?

Culture Shock: Native Peoples and Europeans

America was cut off from the other continents and their cultural influence for thousands of years. Can you imagine how surprised the native peoples must have been on seeing Cartier's "huge" ships arrive? What must they have thought on hearing the newcomers talk about private ownership of land, when they regarded the Earth as mother to all?

As for the Europeans, they were astonished to land in a country full of strange people who painted their faces red. Naturally, both groups experienced a sense of shock.



The Europeans of the time thought that when two cultures met, there were three possible historical consequences:

- a sharing of cultural elements resulting in a new culture
- assimilation of one culture by the other
- acculturation, that is, the refusal of one culture to assimilate, resulting in the marginalization of that culture. Acculturation occurs in many forms, but in Canada and the United States it resulted in the creation of reserves or restricted territories where the members of the "conquered" culture lived.

It is important to keep these consequences in mind in order to understand the interaction that took place between these two civilizations, and the goal, whether stated or not, of the Europeans.

What deserves attention are the reasons for and effects of this cultural interaction. Certain phenomena or techniques had more of an effect than others. Among these, we will consider medicine, language, agriculture, housing, guns, and horses. We will also look at hunting, the fur trade, and canoes.

EUROPEANS ADOPT CERTAIN INDIAN WAYS

For the Europeans, the 16th century was a period of North American exploration. Settlements were temporary. Contact between Europeans and Amerindians can be summed up in this way: the native peoples were extraordinarily open, hospitable, and eager to share their knowledge of the country. While Europe reaped benefits such as the importation of potatoes and tobacco, the native peoples were decimated by one epidemic after another.

Spain's supply of gold from its South American colonies was of great concern to France at this time. The French wondered whether there were comparable riches in Canada. But there were no diamonds, gold, or precious stones. However, a profitable MARKET for furs was opening up in Europe. The fur trade was one reason for occupying this immense new territory. Another was the missionary zeal of the time for converting the "savages." Thus, a Christian crusade was undertaken, and a profitable one at that.

The quality of Canadian furs gave them an enviable reputation in world markets. Drawn by the fur trade, small groups of Europeans came to Canada, with uncertainty about what they would find there rather than with the aggressiveness of "conquerors."

The Europeans were insecure, mainly because of their ignorance of the new land, and this insecurity was at the root of their adoption of Indian ways.

AMERINDIAN MEDICINE

Europeans gleaned some of the knowledge essential to their survival in this wintry land from the Amerindians. By 1605, scurvy had taken its toll in the small French settlements: 35 out of 80 colonists had died. Initially they tried native medicine to ward off the disease. Later, when Europe discovered the benefits of vitamin C in the fight against this curse, potatoes, oranges, lemons, and other fruits became part of the daily diet in Canada. But starting in 1607, there was a marked decrease in the incidence of this disease, except for isolated outbreaks such as that during the settlement of Trois-Rivières in 1634, when inadequate precautions were taken.

The first settlers tended to rely on native medicine to fight illness. In fact, it was Amerindian cultures that gave us quinine, novocain, ephedrine, curare, and witch hazel. These and countless other products were exported to Europe.

LANGUAGE

The insecurity or uneasiness felt by the Europeans extended to language as well. Between 1608 and 1628, Algonquian, or rather, three Algonquian dialects—Montagnais, Algonquian, and Nipissing—were spoken in Québec. Two strategies were adopted to resolve the problem of communication. The first was to teach the native peoples French (six Amerindians were sent to France, of whom two returned and only one was willing to cooperate). The second strategy was to have Europeans live with Indian tribes, with the consent of the tribes, of course. This second strategy proved more effective than the first.

The reason for this is simple. The native peoples dominated the economic scene. They held the key to the survival of these small French colonies: furs. Thus, they did not have to learn the language of their clients, who were at their mercy.

Under the circumstances, European interpreters were very important to traders, and all the more so, since the latter feared that the native peoples would either forget meetings with them or do business elsewhere. The English and Dutch presence must not be underestimated in this regard.

The French had to introduce native words into their vocabulary to describe things that did not exist in the mother country, words such as caribou and moccasins.

Although both cultures retained their respective languages, the influence of the native languages on French and the social and economic importance of interpreters was significant. A mistake in translation could mean war, imminent death, or the natives' withdrawal from a deal.

AGRICULTURE

When Cartier landed at Stadacona (Québec), he met Iroquois who grew corn and other crops, but, as was noted earlier, the 16th century was not a time of great interaction between the two cultures.

However, by Champlain's time (1608-1635), the Iroquois no longer lived in this region and had been replaced by the Algonquin, who were hunters. It was when the Huron-Iroquois and the French began their fur trade that the French probably became acquainted with Amerindian agriculture. They came to know and export techniques for growing corn, pumpkins, squash, artichokes, avocados, and several varieties of beans and cranberries.

They also learned the technique of forced germination: the Huron soaked pumpkin seeds in water and then planted them in a bark box exposed to heat. These seeds germinated in a few days and were then transplanted to the fields.

Colonists used Amerindian sleds to transport logs used for building. They discovered the sweetness of maple sap, and savoured Amerindian migam (corn and fish) and sagamite (broth-like soup made with corn).

The French thus came to use corn to prevent famine, as they did in 1624 and 1626 when Champlain was forced to stockpile corn because there were insufficient quantities of European foodstuffs. It would seem that the first colonists were still very dependent on the homeland. Finally, in 1628, a man by the name of Guillaume Couillard harvested his first New World crop of corn. From then on, corn became a staple.

HOUSING

Clearly the fur trade played the key role in the local economy. However, it is important to remember that the colonists were also bricklayers, carpenters, cabinet makers, and blacksmiths, who encountered many problems (particularly concerning winter housing) which could not be solved using native technology.

The colonists knew how to build houses for mild European winters, but had to develop construction techniques that were adapted to the weather conditions in New France. Henceforth, all houses constructed by carpenters worthy of their trade were built with cellars, since houses built directly on the ground allowed moisture to seep into the floors, making them virtually impossible to heat. Homeowners had to stock wood for the winter or face dire consequences.

THE NATIVE PEOPLES BORROW FROM THE EUROPEANS



The native peoples were proud. They noticed that Europeans wore hats of different shapes and that in greeting each other, they doffed their hats and bowed as a sign of respect. Finding this custom very interesting, they used it among themselves and in their interaction with Europeans.

This may seem trivial, but the native peoples saw this custom as a value they could assimilate without jeopardizing their sense of pride. Hats were not the only item of clothing they adopted; Amerindians took to wearing shoes, woollen caps, and shirts as well. They also began using blankets. However, they rejected trousers, which they found uncomfortable.

While the Europeans adopted the bark canoe, the native peoples, in turn, adopted the wooden rowboat. Rowboats made it possible to transport more furs as well as other goods; canoes proved more efficient for navigating rivers.

Even though the sale of firearms was initially prohibited, some Amerindians owned firearms as well as swords, which they used to make spears. In fact, it was when the Huron began to trade with the French that they also began to use iron for their arrowheads, probably as a result of having been introduced to metal-working techniques. The use of firearms and of iron marked the "beginning of the end" for the native peoples.

The Europeans had no choice but to look, listen, learn, and borrow techniques when they settled on Amerindian soil. Contacts with the native peoples were friendly, and they traded with each other, albeit unequally. The Europeans adopted some Indian ways while remaining very dependent on the motherland.

The Europeans' dependence on the native peoples stemmed from the latter's knowledge of the continent and the fur territories. The Amerindians who still had a nomadic way of life roamed these territories, which was not the case with the newly arrived colonists.

Through trading and travelling with the Amerindians, some Europeans became *coureurs de bois*, while others settled in Québec and became fur merchants or farmers, thereby continuing the sedentary way of life of the Old World. However, the entire economy was based on the fur trade, and France made no effort to colonize New France. Québec was, first and foremost, a trading post.

1.2 EXERCISE 12

- a) What are the three main historical consequences that can result when two cultures meet?

- b) Why did the Europeans adopt some Indian customs?

- c) Why did the native peoples not learn French in the 17th century?

Decline of the Traditional Ways of Life of the Native Peoples

THE END OF AN ERA

The 17th and 18th centuries were times of great European expansionism. Europe was avidly looking for colonies that could provide cheap raw materials to be transformed into marketable goods of all kinds. The main economic rivals were France and England. Starting in 1665, France turned its attention to New France and began a new era of COLONIZATION based on agriculture.

England, for its part, colonized the eastern part of the United States; it did this by constantly pushing the Amerindian population farther west. The British Conquest (1759-1760) and the American Revolution (1775-1783) radically changed Canada and native ways of life. The English finished what the French had already started, that is, the acculturation of Amerindian civilization. Let us look at this process from the vantage point of historical fact.

EUROPEAN PRODUCTS REPLACE SYMBOLIC AMERINDIAN TRADITIONS

As was the native custom, Amerindian clay necklaces served as currency, jewelry, decorative pieces, annals (historical records), and even registers. They told the history of a nation or of an individual. The result of patient craftsmanship, these necklaces traced the history of these people back to an earlier people who lived by fishing. All that was of sacred and historical importance was expressed in the necklaces. They were a form of literature.

As the clay beads were gradually replaced by glass ones from France, the historical character of the artifacts was lost. This represented a decisive, albeit imperceptible, step toward the domination of native cultures by the French.

GUNS IN EASTERN CANADA

The increased tempo of hunting and trading through the use of European technologies—guns, knives, and metal traps—caused an upheaval in the Amerindian way of life.

The French-Huron alliance competed with the English and Iroquois for control over the fur trade; this and several epidemics eventually led to the extinction of the Huron in the mid-17th century.

Even before the arrival of the Europeans, there was conflict between the Huron and the Iroquois, who were, ironically, part of the same nation. The Europeans took advantage of these conflicts, even fuelling them so that native groups "did the dirty work" and fought their trading battles for them.

The native peoples mercilessly waged bloody wars. As they became increasingly dependent on European goods, they gradually left behind their old lifestyle. They were anxious to play a greater role in the fur trade, for the more furs they traded, the more goods they could acquire.

The Huron were obliterated in this fratricidal war fuelled by Europe, through out-and-out extermination or assimilation into other tribes.

Beavers (a primary resource) were overhunted and disappeared from the St. Lawrence Valley. This led to the westward migration of several tribes which had become dependent on the fur trade.

The cooperative and sharing culture of the native peoples that had developed over time disappeared in the face of European mercantilism.

GUNS AND HORSES IN THE CANADIAN WEST

A similar phenomenon occurred in western Canada with the Ojibwa. The introduction of guns and horses transformed this tribe of cooperative self-sufficient farmer-hunters into disorganized groups dependent upon Europeans and the fur trade.

Once the horse arrived on the plains, [old agricultural ways of life] changed. The nomadic bison hunters became ascendant over the farmers, who either were driven off their lands or abandoned agriculture to become bison hunters themselves.¹²

¹² Peter Farb, *Man's Rise to Civilization* (New York: Dutton, 1968), 115.

Horses appeared in North America toward the end of the 17th century, making the hunters' job easier. Hunters on horseback were able to kill the best animals easily, thereby creating an imbalance in the reproduction of the species.

The hunting-based economy, which made the Ojibwa and other tribes dependent on commercial goods provided by the Europeans, caused a social upheaval and drastically changed the lives of women in particular. Agriculture became obsolete, permanent villages disappeared, and customs and traditional arts and crafts were lost. A way of life came to an end.

Thus the native peoples had to become fiercely competitive. To maintain supremacy over a certain territory, they relied on gunpowder, guns, and healthy horses. Horse-theft money was used to buy more guns that would be used to steal more horses. This led to the decline of the bison herds. Contact with the Europeans increased, and as a result, native people began to lose their identity while the colonists grew richer and became more self-sufficient.

PRIEST VERSUS SHAMAN



The first missionaries to New France, the Recollets, came in 1615. This religious order had more or less successfully converted the native peoples of Central and South America, which is why Champlain was very satisfied with the King's choice. The Jesuits joined the Recollets in their apostolic mission in 1625.

In 1625, four priests undertook the perilous task of evangelization. The target, Huronia, comprised around 20 000 souls. It was a huge undertaking.

At first, neither missionary nor layman could detect any form of religious belief among the natives. The Huron, among others, were suspicious of the priests, whom they felt posed a threat to native beliefs, rites, and myths.

The Recollets' and the Jesuits' worst suspicions seemed to be confirmed when they began to live with the natives. Only after 1632 did the missionaries understand the importance of the shaman, the healer, and the medium used to contact spirits. The Montagnais and Algonquin referred to this person as "Manitou"; the Huron called him "Oqui."

It became obvious to the missionaries that the shaman's influence hindered theirs. A battle of wills took place: native beliefs versus the Christian god. The Christian god won out because He could heal the sick. By embracing a faith that was entirely foreign to them, native societies became completely disoriented. Once more, the native way of life suffered because of rapid acculturation.

However, the successful conversion campaign had a negative side. God's own power turned against Him, so to speak. The Montagnais in particular accused the priests of using the power of God to kill them: contact with Europeans meant exposure to unknown diseases that struck down the Amerindians in great numbers. They blamed the missionaries for this phenomenon.

Before leaving this section on the clash between native and European cultures, one point should be made: you must judge for yourself the rights and wrongs of this period of history.

Regardless of what you may think, both the native and European mentalities were a faithful reflection of the world views held by these groups at that time. Europe had just emerged from one of history's darkest ages, a time when practising a trade was practically a sin in the eyes of the Catholic Church. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Europe broadened its horizons and looked to the discovery of new lands. France and England were two of the European countries intent on expanding their power.

Kings fought to dominate the world and to seize distant colonies. However, the colonists, artisans, and farmers who came to the New World had nothing in common with these heads of state. Open to accepting help from the native peoples and driven by the need to survive, the colonists adhered to the only principle they knew—looking out for themselves.

They convinced the most powerful tribes to "play the game." The descendants of these first colonists triumphed and the native peoples lost. It was a devastating blow.

1.2 EXERCISE 13

Briefly describe the impact of guns, metal traps, and horses on the native societies.

1.2 EXERCISE 14

a) What was at stake in the power struggle between priests and shamans?

b) How did this power struggle affect the Amerindian way of life?

1.2 EXERCISE 15

Do you agree with this statement: "When the French arrived, the native peoples showed themselves to be naive and stupid, whereas the French were technically superior and eager to fight."? Comment.

Europeans in Canada

Before 1627, New France had only about one hundred inhabitants. In an effort to increase this number, France granted a trade monopoly to the *Compagnie des Cent Associés* (The Company of One Hundred Associates), with the stipulation that it find ways of increasing the population.

However, one major problem—harassment by the Iroquois—had to be solved. Attacks by the Iroquois alone accounted for nearly 35% of all deaths among the white population. Strengthening the European presence and maintaining the position of the Company in the North American fur market dictated the need either for a lasting peace with the Iroquois or for their extermination.

A confederation of six tribes, the Iroquois had been a formidable enemy since 1610, one which had grown stronger at the expense of the Huron and the Algonquin. By 1649, the Huron, along with other tribes, had been virtually exterminated; henceforth, the Iroquois held a monopoly on trade.

After three wars (1620, 1634, and 1675), peace was established, with the French assuming that the Iroquois would act as protection against the English colonies to the south and at Hudson Bay. The neutrality the French sought and finally obtained from the Iroquois allowed the fur trade to continue and the population to grow. The Iroquois attacks had led to a strengthening of ties between the people in Québec, Montréal (to be discussed later), and Trois-Rivières. It was easier to face the Iroquois as a united front than as separate groups scattered here and there throughout New France. Without knowing it, the Iroquois thus contributed to the "urbanization" of the country.

French Colonization

As already pointed out, before 1663 France was little interested in colonizing New France, and only later settled the territory. In spite of the arrival in 1617 of Louis Hébert, the first European farmer in New France, the colony was still heavily dependent on France for food.

AGRICULTURE



The agricultural practices of the colonists were based on the centuries-old French feudal system.

New France inherited this system whereby a lord was given land by the King of France. In turn, the lord used peasants, also known as serfs, to work the land. The serfs were allowed to keep a portion of what they produced. The lord's part was called the "cens," and was payable in either cash or goods. In New France, this form of land distribution developed into the seigneurial system. The state granted land to a "seigneur," who then leased portions of it to "censitaires," or tenant farmers.

In spite of the similarities between the systems in France and New France, the seigneuries in New France gave the censitaires more latitude than the peasants had in France. This can be explained by the strong competition afforded by the fur market, the limited potential of the land, and a harsh climate. In later years, farmers turned to forestry during the winter.

FRENCH IMMIGRANTS: MEN FIRST, TRADESMEN SECOND

Period documents about the occupations of the French colonists (carpenters, masons, craftsmen; masters or fellows) indicate that most could sign their name, which meant that they had some education. The average age was less than 25.

Apart from tradesmen in construction-related fields, there were merchants, farmers, soldiers, labourers, and others.

All these people brought with them Old World techniques which had to be adapted to the New World context.

CLOTHING

The colonists dressed like Frenchmen in the summer and like Amerindians in the winter. No innovative clothing was designed for them in New France. Finished products or fabrics had to be imported because France forbade her colonies to manufacture finished products. Clothing manufacture, carried out in an age-old cottage industry, was traditionally done by women. Later, in the 18th century, weaving became widespread and Canadian fabrics were produced.

FOOD

The colonists were familiar with watermills and windmills; flour mills were found in Québec, Montréal, and Trois-Rivières. Until 1643, the colony was largely dependent on the mother country for its food staples. Starting in 1653, the colony became more self-sufficient.

Another indispensable technology, according to archival documents, was the brewery. This can be attributed to the fact that most immigrants were from Normandy, where beer, not wine, was drunk. Starting in 1634, breweries began to spring up in the cities of Québec and Trois-Rivières. Even the Jesuits had their own brewery.

In general, early Canadian settlers ate well.

HOUSING: NORMAN-STYLE ARCHITECTURE

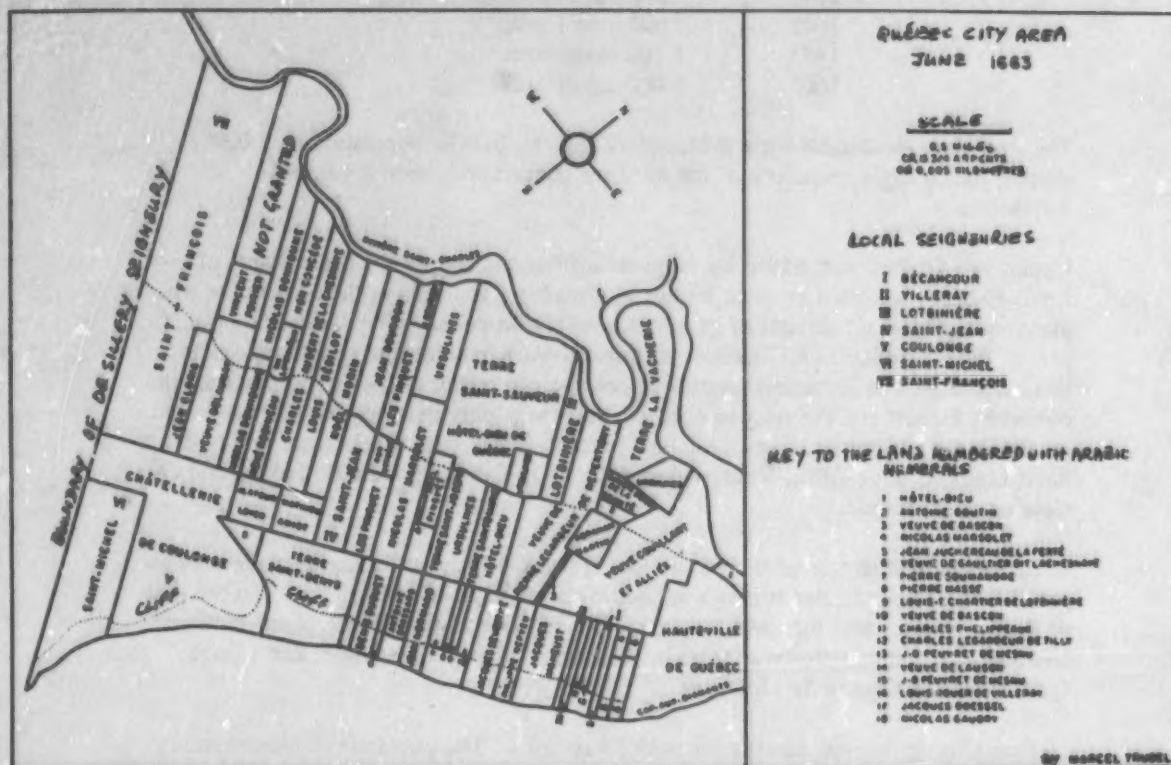


It is not surprising that the housing of the time reflected the origin of the immigrants. At first, because houses had to be built quickly, they were made of logs. Afterwards, there were stone houses, built using three techniques. Some were built from cut stone—costly dressed sandstone. Others were made of fieldstone found around the chosen location. Finally, there were half-timbered houses with walls made from vertical, evenly spaced wooden planks upon which a composite of pebbles and clay or mortar was spread. They usually had walls 70 to 90 cm thick to keep houses warm in winter and cool in summer. Recall that these houses had cellars to protect against dampness. A number of these houses were destroyed during the English invasion of 1760. Few houses from this era have in fact survived. You can see more recent, reconstructed versions in the outskirts of Québec City, along Avenue Royale from Beauport to Saint-Joachim.

Heating was for a long time the major problem with these Norman houses. For seven or eight months a year, the colonists used stone fireplaces to heat their houses. Imported from France, this heating method did not distribute heat evenly and was therefore inadequate in Québec. It was not unusual, given these conditions, to wake up to patches of ice on the bedcovers. But this was not the worst problem. Fires were frequent, and only the advent of the wood-burning stove reduced their numbers. The colonists used more or less traditional home construction techniques and had trouble adapting them to their new environment.

The seemingly illogical arrangement of rural houses and their outbuildings (barn, stable, pigsty, and so on) remains unexplained. In 17th-century France, such buildings were clustered around the main house, forming an inner courtyard that provided protection against the wind and cold. It would have seemed logical for the colonists to use such a layout, considering the harshness of Canadian winters. This arrangement made it easier to move from one building to another, and at the same time provided shelter. But instead, rural builders spread the buildings out. A quick look at the physical layout of farms today indicates that this tendency still exists. The reasons for such a choice are still hard to guess. The only plausible hypothesis is that the builders were afraid of the fires that occurred so frequently, and spacing the buildings out prevented fire from spreading.

URBANIZATION: THE SOLUTION TO POPULATION GROWTH



The Iroquois threat served to strengthen bonds between the cities of Québec, Trois-Rivières, and Montréal. From 1608 to 1645, urban development was haphazard. But with the heavier immigration that followed and the establishment of the Sovereign Council, a certain measure of urban planning became possible.

The table below gives an idea of the population of New France during the 1632-1663 period.

1632	60 inhabitants
1641	500 inhabitants
1645	600 inhabitants
1653	1 500 inhabitants
1663	3 000 inhabitants

The first sixty inhabitants were independent settlers, but the population of 3 000 people, increasingly conscious of the need for cooperation, soon organized themselves.

Uppertown Québec was settled by religious institutions and by the descendants of Louis-Hébert (the first European farmer in Canada). The hills in the area made urban planning difficult; no amount of geometrical expertise could rationally divide up this part of town. Today's Old Québec, with its crooked, picturesque streets, attests to this. Starting in 1630, several territorial concessions began to encroach upon the land owned by Hébert and the religious orders, but it was only in 1665 that the movement escalated. In order to connect these new properties, the first streets were laid out: Saint-Louis, Grande-Allée, Sainte-Anne, Côte de la Fabrique, Côte du Palais, and Côte de la Montagne.

Urban planning also started in 1665 in lowertown Québec. A checkered pattern of parallel and perpendicular streets was used west of the St. Charles River. To the east of the St. Charles was the town common. Sous-le-Fort, Notre-Dame, Saint-Pierre, and Sault-au-Matelot streets were built. The latter street linked Upper and Lower Québec via the Côte de la Montagne.

Québec City developed suburbs for political reasons. The governor of Montmorency would not allow the seigneurs to own land located less than 5 km from the city. This sizeable strip became the suburbs, where individuals could own land, but not seigneuries. To get an idea of the layout, look at the Québec City Area map on the preceding page.

In Trois-Rivières, the urgent need for defence against the Iroquois prompted the construction of a town. Before this, citizens of Trois-Rivières had lived in a fort that was constructed in 1634 and had worked the adjacent land. By 1649 the fort had become dilapidated, and in its place a town developed. It was a square town, surrounded by a three-metre-high stone wall. The land was divided into rectangles, with the land at the centre left to the Algonquin, who had been there before the town was built.

Montréal was built around the Hôtel-Dieu Hospital on land granted to Jeanne Mance in 1644. The surrounding land was likewise given out as grants except for one site located near the river, which was set aside for town dwellings. As early as 1663, Montréal had already surpassed Trois-Rivières in size.

Furs were becoming increasingly rare in the St. Lawrence Valley. They had to be brought from the Hudson Bay area. This, combined with the exceedingly rich farmland outside Montréal, made Montréal a bustling commercial centre.

1.2 EXERCISE 16

Why was it so important to solve the Iroquois problem in the 17th and 18th centuries?

1.2 EXERCISE 16

- a) Why were houses built in a particular style and why did breweries spring up rapidly in New France?

- b) What three construction materials were used by the first colonists and their descendants?

c) Around which building was Montréal built?

d) What two factors helped make Montréal an important commercial centre in the 17th and 18th centuries?

British Colonization

The fur trade continued to be the driving economic force after the British Conquest of Canada in 1759-1760. However, England's shipbuilding industry required more and more timber and Canada became one of the main suppliers. By 1810, lumber and timber made up 75% of the value of exports from the port of Québec.

The British were more determined to colonize than the French. Among the first arrivals were the LOYALISTS, American colonists who remained loyal to the British Crown after the American Revolution of 1775 to 1783. They settled in Ontario, New Brunswick, and the Eastern Townships of Québec. They were followed throughout the 19th century by wave after wave of Scottish, Irish, and English immigrants. From 1829 to 1851, close to 700 000 immigrants arrived at the port of Québec. Only 50 000 finally settled in the province. The rest moved to Ontario or the United States.

The British also had a different approach to land tenure than the French. They used the freehold tenure system instead of the seigneurial system. Each British farmer had to buy his own lot. He then became a small landowner. He did not pay any rent to the seigneur and was free to do what he wished with his piece of land. Under the seigneurial system, the censitaires had to pay an annual rent to the seigneur.



A considerable amount of history has been covered in this look at the basic aspects of the native way of life. By going back to prehistoric times, you have seen the dynamic interaction between techniques and technology shaped by a way of life that was partly nomadic and partly sedentary.

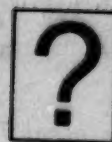
Climate, population density, and the relationship between the means of subsistence and human cultures are all factors that must be taken into account in order to understand the link between way of life and technology and to describe the foundations of today's dominant way of life. By examining historical facts, we can see that the needs of a particular society, and not its technology, modified that society and its way of life. Faced with a problem, human intelligence is such that it uses all its resources to find techniques, organizational strategies, or technological tools to solve the problem.

Finally, the historical era that began with the arrival of the Europeans posed the same challenges, but with the added dimension of a cultural collision between the two ways of life. At first, there was an exchange of knowledge and mutual exposure to new conditions; later on, this reciprocity was transformed into the acculturation of the native peoples and the dominance of the European (later, Canadian) culture over the Amerindian way of life.

In the following objectives, you will get a clearer picture of how technology and way of life affect each other. This will enable you to understand the basis of consumer societies, societies that seem to be controlled by techniques and technology.

Given that the period just covered was characterized by different societies' control over technology, societies where individual knowledge had to be shared to ensure survival and unity, then what can be said about today? The master carpenters of the Middle Ages passed on their technical knowledge to fellows and apprentices; shamans ensured the continuation of the history and traditions of a tribe. And today? Do steam-powered machines, trains, cars, planes, and computers govern our lives?

Review Exercises



INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.2

To describe the pre-industrial technologies and the foundations they laid for the dominant way of life.

1.2 EXERCISE 18

- a) What important technology made its appearance on the American continent 15 000 to 8 000 years ago?

- b) What types of economies developed simultaneously between 15 000 and 8 000 years ago in America?

- c) The changes in way of life and technology during the Paleoindian period were the result of purely instinctive human actions. True or false? Explain.

- d) Describe the relationship between the Inuit and their weapons and tools.

- e) The faculty of speech that Algonquin fishermen attributed to fish was one that could turn against the fishermen. In what way?

- f) What evidence supports the hypothesis that women played a key role in Iroquois agriculture?

- g) What was distinctive about the first houses built in New France?

- h) How did the introduction of guns in eastern and western Canada affect the native peoples?

- i) In what ways did French and British colonization (after 1760) differ?

Suggested Reading

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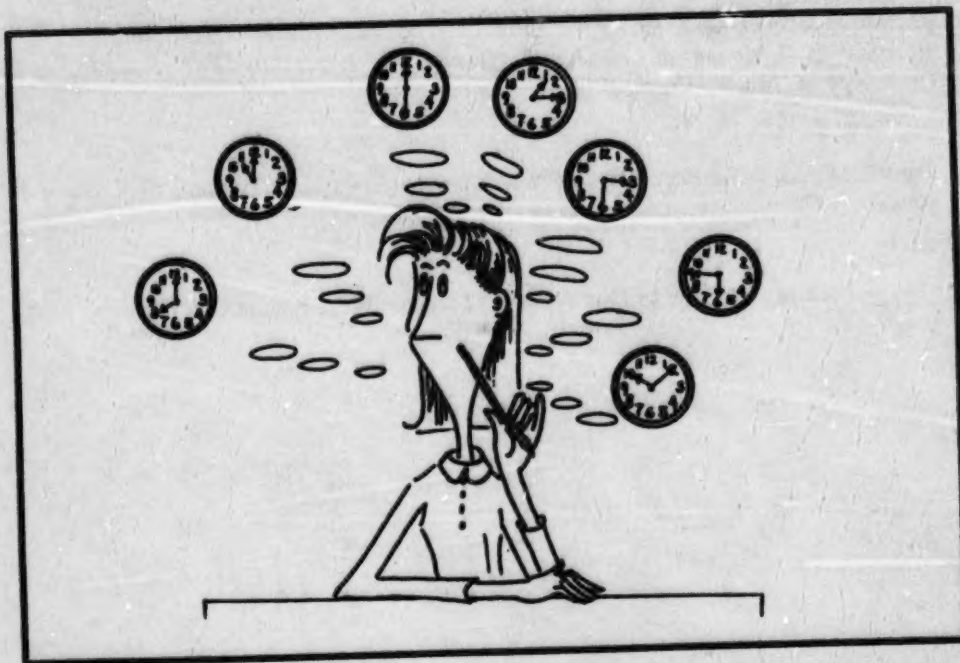
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TERMINAL OBJECTIVE 1

To describe the context of technological changes and their impact on the Western way of life.

INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.3

To describe the main technological changes that took place in the industrial era and their impact on the dominant way of life.



The following pages describe the daily lives of men and women in 19th-century Québec and Canada. The influence of technology on their way of life was reflected in the changing pace of their daily lives. Time management in those days was very different from that in modern life.

But before going back in time, take a few minutes to think about your own life. Try to draw up a schedule for a typical day.

Choose a day from last week, preferably a work or school day. Fill out the following daily schedule by listing the main activities of the day.

DIARY 19_____

Date_____

MORNING

6 a.m. _____

7 a.m. _____

8 a.m. _____

9 a.m. _____

10 a.m. _____

11 a.m. _____

12 noon _____

AFTERNOON

1 p.m. _____

2 p.m. _____

3 p.m. _____

4 p.m. _____

5 p.m. _____

6 p.m. _____

EVENING

7 p.m. _____

8 p.m. _____

9 p.m. _____

10 p.m. _____

11 p.m. _____

NIGHT

12 midnight _____

1 a.m. _____

2 a.m. _____

3 a.m. _____

4 a.m. _____

5 a.m. _____

Do you think that you have control over the way you spend your time? Explain.

Using a process of trial and error, human beings try to master their environment through technological development in an effort not only to live, but to live well. In the pre-industrial era, that is, before the 19th century, technological developments occurred very slowly.

In general, the way of life was not influenced rapidly or radically by scientific or technological development. At times, thousands of years seemed to elapse between technological innovations.

Starting in the 15th century, exposure to different ways of life brought about a series of culture shocks. Europe set out to conquer the world. Europeans penetrated territories inhabited by peoples with diverse values and customs. In North America, the native peoples welcomed the Europeans, not realizing that this European intrusion would radically change their lives.

The European colonists assimilated native knowledge in order to adapt to North America. The cooperation of the native peoples was absolutely essential if the Europeans were to survive the long winter months.

1.3 EXERCISE 19

Try to imagine and describe how the 17th-century colonists felt during their first blizzard.

New ways of life emerged on American soil. In the centuries following the arrival of the first colonists, the native peoples' ways of life were drastically eroded and the process has continued to the present. The relationship between the native peoples and Europeans was characterized by the strength and supremacy of the latter. Remember that the European colonists in North America were from England, France, and Spain, nations that were highly organized, both politically and militarily.

Culture shocks of one form or another occurred not only in North America, but also in South America, Africa, Asia, and Australia.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, Europe became the frontrunner in a mad race toward progress at any cost, a race that continues today. Within two centuries, technology and science revolutionized the way men and women lived and worked. Even though the participants cannot keep up with the pace of the invention race, "progress" is generally perceived as all-important. Progress, that is, the desire to improve our way of living, is considered the gauge of our intelligence. Science and technology seem to have given human beings supremacy over nature—we appear to have won out and we boast that we are superior. It must be mentioned, however, that as the 20th century draws to a close, certain special-interest groups, such as ecologists and pacifists, have questioned this vision of scientific and technological progress at any cost.

Where does 19th-century Canada fit in between these two extremes? This period in the history of technology and ways of life is of interest because two lifestyles—the old and the new—coexisted. The 19th century was a turning point, with one foot in the past and the other foot striving to keep up with the quickening pace of the contemporary world.



Nineteenth-Century Way of Life

SCHEDULE FOR A SUMMER DAY

Generally speaking, individuals living in a rural community did not measure time in terms of hours as we do today. Time was divided up according to the various activities undertaken to ensure survival and carried out within a particular area

The daily schedule of the settlers was determined by activities such as sowing and harvesting for the men and gardening and preserving for the women. The day was divided into work periods, the number and length of which were determined by mealtimes and by the rising and setting of the sun, which established the beginning and end of the workday.

Schedules varied from one person to the next since almost everyone managed his or her own time and activities. Time, therefore, was an individual concern.

The habitants' language reflects this arbitrary concept of time. In talking about a past event, the habitant never talked in absolute temporal terms, but instead, referred to a phenomenon that marked this period: "It happened during the summer of the terrible grasshopper plague" or "It happened just before the fire that destroyed the barn." Hence, time was not calculated in terms of hours and days, but was based on the duration of an activity such as "the time required to sow the two fields of wheat."¹³

In the 19th century, the word habitants referred to men and women farmers. As you can see, their concept of time was very different from ours.

¹³ Thérèse Beaudoin, *L'été dans la culture québécoise, 18^e et 19^e siècles*, 104-105. [Free translation]

1.3 EXERCISE 20

- a) What kinds of activities made up the daily schedule of 19th-century colonists during the summer?

- b) What does Thérèse Beaudoin mean when she says "time was an individual concern"?

- c) Based on your own schedule, would you say that the pace of life today is the same as the pace of life in the 19th century?

TIME: A SIGN OF CHANGE



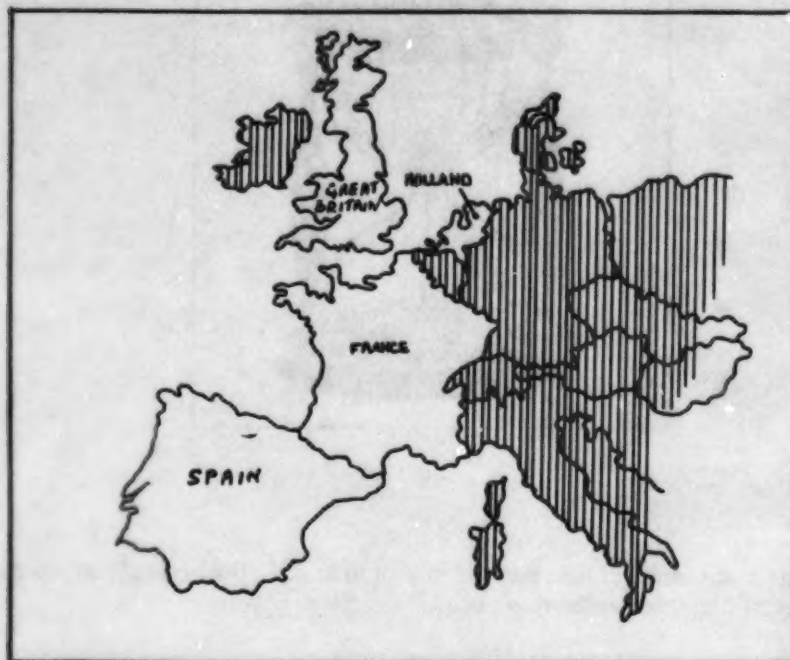
As people's perception of time and the pace of their daily lives change, so too does their way of life, often as the result of major social upheavals.

In Canada, as well as in other countries, the 19th century was a turning point in history. A traditional agrarian way of life was still predominant, but this tradition changed drastically with the rapid rise of industrialization. Furthermore, rural families moved to a new environment: the city.

"Times change," our grandparents say, and so they do. Think about it. Over the last 80 years, one technological miracle has followed on the heels of another: electricity, the telephone, aviation, cinematography, television, space travel (putting a man on the moon), and data processing, to mention only a few. Nowadays, new inventions are common, but still exciting occurrences. How many people are eagerly waiting for the latest technology that will replace CD players or portable radio/tape players?

Perhaps we should pause in this race against time to reevaluate and put into perspective our vision of progress at any cost. We should ask ourselves why we now see life in these terms. By examining the changes that took place in the way of life in the 19th century, perhaps we will be in a better position to understand the meaning underlying our 20th-century way of life.

The Industrial Revolution and Technological Advances



Beginning in the early 17th century, the woollen-textile manufacturing industry underwent major expansion. To raise sheep, the industry needed direct control over large land acreage. English landowners gradually took the needed land from the peasants. From many small parcels of land, they formed bigger ones, which they enclosed for sheep-raising. This process was known as the Enclosure Movement. Rural peasants thus lost their holdings and were obliged to seek work in factories or elsewhere in towns.

The Industrial Revolution began in Great Britain. At the beginning of the 18th century, agriculture and handicrafts were still the main production activities. More and more products became available for trade. The landless peasants found employment in small industrial shops which produced material to export. They worked for the new capitalists.

These new capitalists had the required raw material and equipment. In exchange for their labour, workers received wages. With this money, they were forced to buy goods such as food and clothing from merchants since they had less and less time and opportunity to produce these themselves.

The people's way of life changed when they could no longer produce their own food and clothing, and instead, had to buy these things.

MECHANIZATION

What characterizes the Industrial Revolution on the technological level is not machines per se, but mechanization.¹⁴

1.3 EXERCISE 21

Comment on the above statement by the historian P. Mantoux. In your opinion, what is the difference between machines and mechanization?

¹⁴ P. Mantoux, *La révolution industrielle au 18^e siècle* (Paris: Guérin, 1959), 185. [Free translation]

The technological changes of the 18th and 19th centuries caused a major upheaval in traditional work methods. The extent of this upheaval is described by another historian, Jean-Pierre Rioux:

Increased production, large predictable profits, a rationalized division of labour, compensation for a shortage of labourers—only the new machines could ensure all of this simultaneously. But the widespread use of machines that could economically produce large quantities of goods meant that mechanization had taken root. The substitution of mechanical operations for both manual work and costly apprenticeship training eventually led to many craftsmen and workers in the cottage industries being replaced by the multi-step manufacturing process of modern factories. These changes opened up a new era in which profits from the exploitation of human labour led to the expansion of the Industrial Revolution.¹⁵

Two markets for English products opened up: outside the country, powerful English merchants experienced a period of unprecedented growth in the international maritime trade; inside the country, the growing number of wage earners were obliged to buy the commodities necessary to their survival from merchants.

Industrial production increased under these favourable conditions. Certain industrial sectors—the textile and metal (iron and steel) industries, for example—reflected the innovations of the early Industrial Revolution. But the Revolution is also symbolized by a radical change in energy sources brought about first by the steam engine, and then by the advent of electricity in the 19th century.

INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

At the end of the 18th century, the cotton market was expanding rapidly in England. The textile industry was one of the first sectors to be affected by the Industrial Revolution. By the end of the 19th century, all the technological innovations that were perfected in Europe and the United States had entered Canada, causing a boom in the textile sector. A brief presentation of the most important technical innovations in this industry follows.

Spinning and weaving were the two main operations, and therefore to increase production, the traditional tools of the trade—the spindle, spinning wheel, and loom—had to be perfected.

¹⁵ Jean-Pierre Rioux, *La révolution industrielle 1780-1880* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1971), 61-62. [Free translation]

To speed up the weaving process and to increase the width of fabrics, which had been limited by the weaver's reach, John Kay invented the flying shuttle in 1733. (No relation to the space shuttle!)



The flying shuttle

This new shuttle allowed more efficient weaving of broadcloth, twill, sailcloth, and all wide cloth, according to the specifications attached to the patent. It was considerably lighter than the shuttle then in use and had four rollers. It reached between warp threads following a nine-foot long beam placed underneath and attached to the frame of the loom.¹⁶

¹⁶ Michel Denis and Noël Blayau, *Le 18^e siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1970), 91. [Free translation]

However, this invention caused an imbalance in the weaving industry. Spinning mills could not produce enough thread to supply the new looms equipped with flying shuttles. In 1765, a weaver named James Hargreaves solved the problem by inventing the spinning jenny.

The spinning jenny

[Hargreaves' invention consisted of a] spinning wheel with many spindles. It was manually operated at first and allowed one worker to spin 8 to 80 threads at once. Small in size, this machine was well suited for use in the home, but it produced weak thread appropriate only for the weft in cotton.¹⁷

In 1769, combining energy sources and machines, Richard Arkwright built a hydraulic loom called a water frame, which produced stronger, more resistant thread that could be used for weaving the warp in cotton. Weaving entered the era of mass production, with more and more weavers working in factories.

The frantic race toward "progress" was in full swing, creating a need for constant improvement in the quality and quantity of products and leading to many industrial inventions. Any technical achievement of the time led to and complemented other similar ones.

In 1779, Samuel Crompton combined Arkwright's and Hargreaves's inventions and came up with a machine called the spinning mule. This machine produced strong fibres that were finer than those produced by the hydraulic loom (water frame).

Another setback occurred, only this time it was the spinning mills that produced too much thread and the weaving industry that could not keep up. In 1787, Cartwright applied the technology of the improved steam engine to the loom to create the power loom.

¹⁷ Denis and Blayau, *le 18^e siècle*, 91. [Free translation]

However, these inventions did not enter the industrial world without problems. Weavers resisted the use of power looms in factories, delaying their full-scale use until 1830. The weavers knew that this new machine would mean a decrease in the number of jobs for them.

1.3 EXERCISE 22

Can you think of any current examples of technological innovations that could result in fewer jobs in the workplace? List a few.

Within a few decades, the textile industry had undergone radical change. In the 19th century, this transformation led to a phenomenal increase in European productivity. The following statistics for England are convincing proof.

Productivity in the cotton industry in the United Kingdom (1829-1882)

* (100 base: average number of units of work done 1829-1831)

	Number of hours	Productivity per worker
1829-1831	100	100
1844-1846	87	372
1859-1861	87	708
1880-1882	82	948

* In other words, a worker in 1829-1831 produced 100 units in 100 hours of work. This figure serves as the basis for comparison with future years when productivity increased drastically, so that by 1880-1882, a worker produced 948 units in 82 hours!

Source: C. Fohlen, "La Première Révolution Industrielle, La Documentation photographique," cited in Jean-Pierre Rioux, *La révolution industrielle 1780-1880*, 65. [Free translation]

It is easy to see why historians call this era the Industrial Revolution. Not only did cottage industries cease to be the main source of textile production, but shops and factories turned out previously unimaginable quantities of merchandise. In Canada and particularly in Québec, the textile industry made great strides in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; the industry benefited from the formidable growth of mechanization and from the new approaches to work management that had been in effect in Europe and the United States since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution.

IRON AND STEEL PRODUCTION

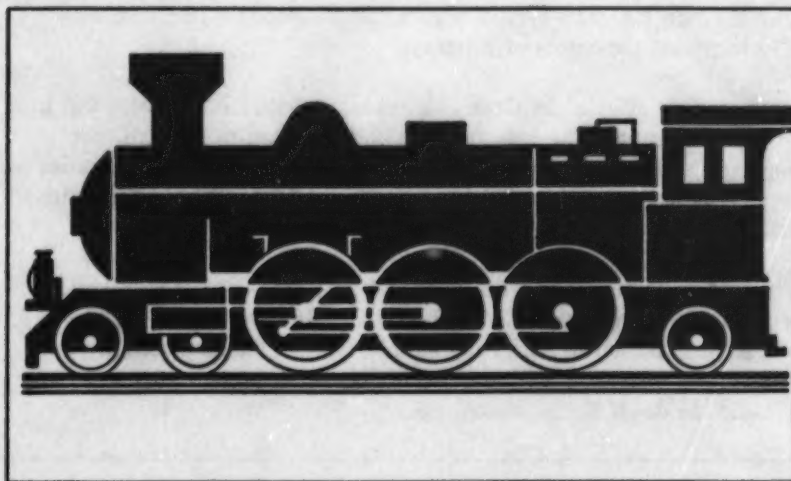
Before the era of heavy industrialization, wood was the main raw material for the building of houses, ships, carriages, bridges, machines, and so on. With shrinking forest resources, England had to import wood from its North American colonies. At the same time, the heads of industry solved the wood shortage by increasing their use of iron and steel.

Several events account for this situation in the 19th century. Agriculture was changing and now required increasingly sophisticated equipment made of iron and steel; the textile industry used machinery made of iron and steel; after 1830, the spectacular increase in railways necessitated the construction of locomotives, wagons, and rails of iron and steel.

Until wood started to run short, English industry used charcoal to produce steel. Coal, which was plentiful in England, later replaced charcoal. In 1783, a new procedure called puddling (which eliminated impurities from melted iron) assured more efficient production of higher-quality metal. As a result, metal-based industries sprang up around coalfields.

Historians tell us that the Industrial Revolution was able to take hold only in those places where coal and iron were readily available, given the importance of these materials in the production of machinery. In Canada, foundries experienced some growth with the appearance of the cast-iron stove, an essential object for weathering the winter.

THE STEAM ENGINE: A SYMBOL OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION



In the 19th century, coal was not only essential to the production of iron, but also to the large-scale use of the steam engine.

Until then, the human capacity for work, although increased by the harnessing of wind (windmills) and water energy (hydraulic wheel), had been limited. The Industrial Revolution took its name from the sudden increase in energy production triggered by the invention of the steam engine. Large-scale industrial mechanization was made possible by this invention.

Although it was conceived and designed in the early 18th century, the steam engine underwent a series of improvements starting in 1763, thanks to James Watt (1736-1819). In 1785, steam engines were being used in cotton factories and foundries to power rollers and hammers. "In 1870, steam engines in Great Britain did the work that 40 million people would have done in the past."¹⁸ This is impressive by all accounts. As of 1830, England was leading the industrial race with 15 000 steam engines in operation, while France had 3 000 and Prussia (now northern Germany) had 1 000.¹⁹

The contribution made by the steam engine was not limited to industry; it also revolutionized transportation through its use in steamboats and locomotives. The 19th century was rightly known as the Age of Steam.

In the 19th century, mechanization took over and radically changed industrial production. Its symbol was the steam engine. This invention greatly increased the output of workers.

The sectors first affected by these changes were the textile industry and iron and steel production. The Industrial Revolution began in England, but throughout the 18th century mechanization fever spread to other countries in Europe, America, and elsewhere, with each country adapting the industrial transformations to its own needs.

Mechanization came late to Canada. Traditional ways of life and work patterns persisted throughout the 19th century. But after 1870 this changed, slowly at first, then with increasing momentum. In the next section you will travel the road taken by these people, caught between a traditional way of life and the dawn of the modern age.

¹⁸ Rioux, *La révolution industrielle 1780-1880*, 67. [Free translation]

¹⁹ Rioux, 68.

Innovation in Agriculture

THE SITUATION WEST OF QUÉBEC



In the early 19th century, the economies of Upper Canada (now Ontario) and Lower Canada (now Québec) were based mainly on trade with England and on agriculture. Canadian merchants exported local commodities (such as furs, lumber and wheat) to England and imported manufactured products (such as fabric) from England.

Many farmers produced just enough to feed their families. No cash crops were produced. Farmers were self-sufficient.

Preferential tariffs for lumber and wheat were granted by England to Canada and this allowed Montréal merchants to make sizeable profits by exporting these commodities.

The production of wheat for export to England intensified, especially in Upper Canada (Ontario), which fared so well that it became one of the world's largest exporters of flour and wheat.

By the end of the 19th century, Canada stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans. Wheat farming moved farther and farther west, and the lives of Prairie farmers improved.

Before this, the Métis and Amerindians had lived in these regions. But in spite of their acts of resistance (Métis revolts headed by Louis Riel in 1869-70 and 1885), their way of life, based on the hunting of bison, was drastically altered.

Gradually, however, the colonization destroyed the buffalo and shook the foundations of the Métis society. The buffalo, whose habitat was principally in American territory, were being systematically decimated with the help of the American Government, which wanted to weaken the Indians. In order to starve out Chief Sitting Bull, who had fled to Canada, the American Government sent troops to destroy the buffalo and set fire to the Canadian prairie so that the animals could not reproduce. By 1880, no great herds of buffalo remained, and their sudden disappearance forced the Métis to adapt rapidly to sedentary agricultural life.²⁰

1.3 EXERCISE 23

Have you ever seen a western movie that told the story of the Métis the way Cornell does? Comment.

Clearly, changes in ways of life can be hastened by unforeseen circumstances. The Amerindians and Métis had no choice: they had to adapt quickly or die.

In the late 19th century, with the native peoples of the west well under control, the Canadian government launched a promotion campaign to encourage settlers to come to the Prairies and farm the land. Many European immigrants from Germany,

²⁰ P. G. Cornell et al., *Canada: Unity in Diversity* (Toronto: Rinehart & Winston, 1968), 286.

Ireland, Hungary, the Ukraine, Poland, and the Scandinavian countries responded. These people, with their diverse cultural origins, were to leave an indelible mark still evident in the way of life of present-day western Canadians.

AGRICULTURE IN QUÉBEC



In 19th-century Ontario and the Prairies, agriculture was in its infancy. Productivity was high and agricultural methods and technology improved continually throughout the century.

In Lower Canada (Québec), agricultural land was limited to the banks of the St. Lawrence River. The seigneurial system prevailed until 1854. In the early 19th century, the seigneurs tried to encourage the production of wheat so that they too could benefit financially from exporting to England, but to no avail.

Agriculture in 19th-century Québec was beset with problems: in the 1830s the soil was poor through overuse, agricultural techniques were outdated, seigneuries were overpopulated, and blights were frequent (rust, Hessian flies).

People reacted differently to the agricultural crisis. Many farmers moved to richer lands, creating new settlements.

Some headed for cities such as Montréal or Québec, others moved west, and even more went to the United States. This was the beginning of an era of mass Québec migration, a trend that would last into the 20th century. Those who stayed in Québec gave up on wheat farming. Instead, they raised products for domestic use (peas, potatoes, hay, oats, and so on).

In the mid-19th century, with faster methods of transport available (i.e., railways), many farmers who lived close to rail centres produced crops to be sold locally or elsewhere (United States). After 1875, these farmers devoted part of their efforts to dairy production. Agricultural technology improved, in some regions more than others.

Within twenty years, dairy production had transformed agriculture in Québec. Cheese production developed, followed by butter production. In 1886, there were 162 butter and cheese producers; this increased to 728 by 1890 and, ten years later, to 1992. However, in the early stages, the quality of the products often left much to be desired.

Dairy production was not the only form of specialization. Certain regional specialities emerged: animal husbandry, horticulture, hay-making, market gardening, and tobacco-growing.

These changes did not occur everywhere in Québec. The regions that specialized were those that had access to urban markets and to improved means of transportation. In the other regions, particularly those settled by the first colonists, traditional agriculture prevailed. It should be noted that most of the food necessary to the family's subsistence continued to be produced, even on specialized farms.

In the second half of the 19th century, the use of different kinds of farm machinery increased. Mechanization and improved agricultural techniques mainly affected regions that introduced specialization and cash crops. The government, farming organizations, newspapers, and local speakers educated farmers and informed them about innovations.

Farmers still set aside part of their produce for domestic use. They bought very little. Even those who specialized sold only part of their produce in town; this provided them with money for store-bought items. Sometimes, the town came to them . . .

A dominant aspect of rural living conditions was the home manufacture of most objects in the household. Towards the end of the century, however, with the development of railway transportation and the introduction of catalogue sales, some of these home manufacturers disappeared. In his classic study of Saint-Justin, Léon Gérin noted the change in the way the

habitant was clothed; linens and other homespun materials were replaced by commercially sold fabrics, especially cottons. Farm machinery soon underwent a similar development, and even the village blacksmith was left with only maintenance work as the farm became mechanized.²¹

1.3 EXERCISE 24

- a) What new sales technique came into use in the late 19th century?

- b) Why did this new technique come into use in the last half of the 19th century?

- c) Do you know of any businesses that still use this sales technique? If so, name them.

²¹ Linteau et al., *Québec: A History, 1867-1929*, 169.



Urban populations increased. City dwellers earned wages by working in factories and relied for food on farmers who came to town to sell their fresh produce. Very gradually, agriculture became indispensable to towns and cities, and vice versa.

Industrialization began in England at the end of the 18th century, aided by a thriving international shipping trade.

Nineteenth-century Canada was primarily an agricultural society. Western Canada soon began specializing in wheat production to accommodate British demands.

Starting in the early 19th century, agriculture in Lower Canada (Québec) experienced such serious problems that farmers were able to produce only enough to support their families. The trend toward specialization in the production of marketable dairy products got underway only in the 1870s. In many regions, specialization brought more advanced agricultural technology and increased consumption of store-bought goods. Farmers then had to learn how to manage their money.

Next, you will see how Québec farmers lived and what they did during the summer.

A PAGE FROM THE 1901-02 EATON'S CATALOGUE²²



²² Linteau et al., *Québec: A History, 1867-1929*, 88.

LIFE IN RURAL QUÉBEC

"Schedule for a Summer Day" at the beginning of this objective gave a rough idea of what life was like then. Now it is time to find out more about 19th-century rural customs.

Let's begin by distinguishing between the ways of life in the older parishes (those of the Québec and Montréal regions) and the newer ones (Bois-Francis, Laurentides, Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean, Mauricie, Témiscamingue).

Map of inhabited regions of Québec



THE OLD PARISHES AND THE VILLAGES

In the 19th century, there were two kinds of rural subdivisions: the village, which was the centre of religious, professional, and commercial activities, and the parish made up of the rural area around the village.

In the village lived the prominent citizens (the parish priest, notary, doctor, and local merchants), a select group of artisans (who produced the few objects that farmers did not make at home), people with small private incomes (retired farmers, other artisans, and manual labourers), and day labourers (workers hired by local farmers). The villagers lived in close contact with the farming community. Without the latter, the villagers would have had no reason for being where they were. The farmers were their faithful clients and often, their employers.

LIFE ON THE FARM

The basic rural production unit was, of course, the farm and the people who lived there. There was no distinction between work and family life; unlike the situation of urban families, the workplace and home were not separate.

Work followed the rhythm of two seasons: winter and summer. (Spring and fall were not considered to be distinct seasons). Winter was a time to relax, to entertain, and to visit relatives and friends. It was a time to socialize. Summer, on the other hand, was a season of hard work. It started at planting time (May) and ended with the harvest (August-September). The family's welfare hinged on the success of this period. (It is not unlike Jean de la Fontaine's fable about the grasshopper and the ant; farmers were like ants—they had no time to sing during the summer, but they made up for it during the long winter evenings.) The whole family worked, often from sunrise to sunset.

WORK CYCLE: MEN²³

Time	Peak Periods	Slow Periods
PHASE 1	Sowing:	- Repairing farm equipment
	- Ploughing the field	- Mending fences
	- Preparing bulbs and seeds	- Draining the fields
	- Harvesting fodder crops	- Putting animals out to pasture
	- Sowing seeds	- Collecting sap (depending on the region)

²³ Beaudoin, *L'été dans la culture québécoise, 18^e et 19^e siècles*, 61. [Free translation]

PHASE II

- Doing daily checks of fields and machinery
- Caring for animals
- Harvesting sea grass (depending on the region)
- Doing a variety of repairs
- Fishing
- Hunting

PHASE III - Harvesting cereal crops and vegetables

- Cleaning and storing tools and machinery
- Providing shelter for the animals for the winter

WORK CYCLE: WOMEN²⁴

Time

Peak Periods

Slow Periods

PHASE I - Preparing the garden
- Sowing seeds and planting bulbs

- Weeding
- Tending domestic animals

PHASE II - Wild berry picking
- Making preserves

- Preparing produce
- Selling produce
- Picking first vegetable crops of the season
- Tending animals

PHASE III - Harvesting garden produce
- Preserving, pickling and canning produce

- Final clean-up of garden
- Cleaning summer kitchen
- Returning equipment to winter kitchen

²⁴ Beaudoin, 88. [Free translation]

1.3 EXERCISE 25

Use your imagination here.

As a budding historian, you have been hired by a reputable university to do a study on a serious subject:

"The division of labour between the sexes among active members of a production unit typical of traditional agricultural production in the economic context of Québec between 1800 and 1900"

Not all that simple, right? In plain English, this means:

What were the differences between men's and women's roles on 19th-century farms in Québec?

Start your study by analyzing the information provided in the two previous charts.

The fields were the men's domain and their work schedule was determined by the three most important activities: sowing, harvesting fodder crops, and harvesting cereal crops and vegetables.

In the "Work Cycle: Men" chart, these activities are listed under "Peak Periods." This means that during these periods, there was not a moment to spare; every able individual and every ounce of energy was devoted to making the endeavour successful. These activities stretched from April to May and from August to September. Between these two peak periods, there was a slow period during which the men could tackle any number of odd jobs that were less demanding, such as doing repairs and tending the farm animals. These peak periods took men away from the house and outlying buildings and into the fields.

In contrast, women worked in and around the house (farmhouse, garden, barn). On the farm, the woman's work was every bit as important as the man's. The homestead was her exclusive domain: preparation of food; caring for the house, making clothing, and tending domestic animals; educating the children; keeping the books, and so on). Added to these routine tasks were seasonal tasks such as tending the garden (planting, weeding, harvesting, and preserving), picking wild berries (blueberries, strawberries, raspberries), and gathering medicinal herbs (camomile, wintergreen) to make healing remedies!

1.3 EXERCISE 26

Are you familiar with any old-fashioned remedies? If so, write them down to share with others.

During the summer, women also had to devote their time to peak-period activities connected with planting the garden, gathering wild berries (which have to be picked as soon as they are ready!), and harvesting garden produce. Between tasks, farm women had no time to relax: in addition to their routine household chores, they had to see to a number of seasonal tasks, and occasionally, help out with pressing work in the fields.

As soon as they were old enough, children were assigned specific chores to help with the farm work. The more children, the better. In the 19th century, the BIRTH RATE in Québec was very high (43.2 births per 1 000 inhabitants between 1866 and 1876).²³ So, along with all their other tasks, women procreated. They got pregnant, gave birth, breast-fed, and started all over again, the cycle repeating itself as many as 10, 12, 15, or even 18 times!

The following is a description of the activities of farm women in the late 19th century. Note the enormous amount of work that went into household production, making the EXTENDED FAMILY virtually self-sufficient.

AT SAINT-JUSTIN, THE WOMEN OF THE CASAUBON FAMILY TOOK PART IN A WIDE VARIETY OF PRODUCTION ACTIVITIES

Most important were spinning and weaving. In 1886, eighteen or twenty bundles of flax were subjected to the preliminary processes of heating, crushing, stripping, combing, spinning and bleaching. Forty-five pounds of wool, dried at the house and then carried to Karl's factory on the Maskinongé River to be carded, were also spun during the winter by the mother, two aunts, the daughter-in-law and the eldest of the daughters using treadle spinning wheels. Eighteen of the forty-five pounds of wool were dyed—also at the house.

A small quantity of the woolen or flaxen thread obtained in this way was left in this state; a small amount was knitted, but most of it was put on the warping frame, then on the loom and made by the mother, her two daughters and her daughter-in-law into cloth, flannel, material and sheets. Only pressing and fulling of material was done outside the home. Sewing and knitting completed the above list of jobs and allowed the family to provide its own household linen, cloth or flannel, bed sheets, tablecloths and hand towels, of which there were dozens and dozens piled up in the cupboards. The family also made most of its own workclothes. The women did not weave and sew to meet only the needs of the family. They produced custom-made clothes from homespun cloth. The mother sold half wool, half cotton quilts decorated with fringes. Philomène produced large woolen shawls and large foot-warmers made of cotton or printed calico as well as rag rugs, which were used either as carpets for the floor or as bedspreads.

²³ Linteau et al., *Québec: A History, 1867-1929*, 20

At harvest time, old aunt Marguerite, assisted by Julie and Philomène, gathered the best stalks of wheat straw and made long plaits out of them, which she then passed through the rollers of a small press. Two hundred lengths of approximately five feet were made in this way each year. From them Julie made hats for the whole family.

The remains of slaughtered animals provided the family with tallow candles and soap. Hides from cows, calves and sheep were taken to the tanner. The leather was used to repair harnesses or to do minor shoe repairs. Sheepskins were used to make workgloves and kneepads. The family went to the village cobbler only for shoes. Finally, from the hair of slaughtered pigs, mother Casaubon made curry combs, stove brushes, clothes brushes and brushes for whitewashing.

In July, they brought the hay in; in August and September, they were involved in the harvest and the threshing. In these last three operations, the women—the mother, daughter-in-law, Philomène, Eulalie and even aunt Julie—carried forks and rakes and helped the men.

The women milked the cows and were responsible for the dairy. On occasion, they even helped look after the livestock. The women were solely responsible for the vegetable garden, which required the use of a spade or fork. Mother Casaubon's special role was taking care of the tobacco crop. In the spring, she put the seedlings in boxes; later she transplanted, weeded, watered and pruned them. The women were also almost entirely responsible for growing flax; the men helped only with the harvesting and threshing of the crop. In addition, the women sheared the sheep, while the men held them still.²⁶

Note that in the 19th-century subsistence economy (as in all such economies), family members made everything they needed to survive. Nearly all household goods were made and used on the farm. The men built houses and barns and made furniture, toys, tools, fences, and so on. The women spun, wove, sewed, and knitted clothing and bedcovers. They cooked, using only food from the farm. Farmers bought little in stores or specialty shops. The new technologies were still virtually unknown to them. In the late 19th century, only the introduction of the sewing machine changed the way country women used their time, allowing them to do piecework for clothing manufacturers.

²⁶ Léon Gérin, "L'Habitant de St-Justin," from *The Clio Collective, Québec Women: A History* (Toronto: Women's Press History, 1987), 59-62.

HOUSES

A city or town house



A country house



Generally speaking, 19th-century country houses were more comfortable than city or town houses. They were, among other things, more spacious and better heated in the winter. The kitchen was the centre of activity. Doors and windows were closed during the summer in order to prevent the house from becoming too warm at night, and an addition called the "summer kitchen" became the centre of family life.

Food was not very varied (potatoes, peas, bread) but generally there was enough to go around. In the summer, wild berries, the garden, hunting and fishing provided supplementary sources of food that were well appreciated.

Hygiene was inadequate, in spite of the more or less general recognition of medicinal practice. The high infant MORTALITY RATE was a reflection of this problem.

COOPERATION: A KIND OF INSURANCE

In the 19th century, cooperation among people in rural communities improved their chances of survival.

Cooperation among neighbours enabled them to do major tasks and to cope with catastrophes. If a fire destroyed a barn, everyone would pitch in to rebuild it. This mutual help was a kind of collective insurance policy.

The poor were cared for by the parish. Fund-raising activities such as the "guignolée" (a collection taken up at Christmas) were organized to help them. Furthermore, beggars knew that they could stop at any farmhouse for a meal.

RELIGION

The parish church was in the village. The rector lived there too, and he offered Mass to his parishioners every Sunday morning. He was present at every important occasion; his influence in 19th-century rural communities was considerable.

At first glance, life on the farm may seem to have been idyllic. But in fact, it was characterized by constant fear of natural disasters (hail, floods, frost, grasshoppers, caterpillars, Hessian flies, and rust). A feeling of helplessness led farmers to turn to religion for comfort.

Seeds were blessed before they were planted. Processions and prayers were held in the fields, especially at the beginning of summer so that the natural elements might be appeased early in the season. Finally, religious feasts such as Corpus Christi and Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day marked off work periods in the fields and provided opportunities for parades and festivities.

The priests strengthened people's belief in these rituals by associating them with adherence to Catholic morals. Good fortune was believed to be proportional to believers' faith and religious observance.

Agricultural Ideology: The Church Idealizes Rural Life

In the second half of the 19th century, faced with increasing industrialization and urbanization, the Church reacted by idealizing and promoting the traditional agricultural way of life. In the Church's view, this was the only way for French-Canadian Catholics to preserve their heritage, that is, their religion and their language.

In the rural parishes, the priests wielded social and political, as well as spiritual, power. Furthermore, they were the indispensable mediators between the higher levels of the Church (bishops) and the people.

After 1840, depletion of the soil and overcrowding of the land resulted in an exodus of the rural population to Canadian cities and New England. Less powerful in the cities and afraid of losing its hold on the people, the Church took swift action.

The solution was to try to make the vocation of farmer more appealing. This was the only way the Church could find to maintain the French and Catholic identity of

French Canadians. Throughout the 19th century, priests thus became fervent promoters of agriculture.

RURAL LIFE IN QUEBEC

Nineteenth-century rural life was much the same as it had been in the preceding centuries. The family was still the basic production unit, and all members had to participate in the work. Traditional division of labour kept men and women's workplaces separate.

Traditional tools were considered worthy extensions of human work.

Natural forces seemed uncontrollable. Religion, with its rituals, processions, and prayers, punctuated work periods in the fields. The unknown was God's domain.

During most of the 19th century, technological modernization did not fundamentally change the lives of Québec farmers.

The Church saw the traditional way of life as fundamental to the French Canadian identity.

RURAL LIFE IN CANADA

Some of you may have seen the television movie *Anne of Green Gables*, based on Lucy Maud Montgomery's famous novel. It depicted the life of Anne Shirley, an orphan who was adopted by a spinster and her brother. They lived in a small village in Prince Edward Island, during the late 19th century. If you have seen the movie, try to answer the following questions.

Note: If you have not read the book or seen the movie, maybe you can talk to someone who has.

1.3 EXERCISE 27

- a) Briefly describe the rural way of life in P.E.I., as depicted in the book and film.

- b) Do you recall three objects in *Anne of Green Gables* that were typical of late 19th century technology?



Several regions of Québec were colonized in the 19th century (the Laurentides, Mauricie, Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean, the inland region of the Côte-Sud, Témiscamingue). Several forest entrepreneurs had been in the region since the early 19th century. Canada's forest industry developed partly as a result of England's lumber shortage.

When the colonists first settled these regions, the land had to be cleared. Years of hard work and patience were required before this rocky land became even marginally arable. The first years were difficult, and families had to make do. Once cleared, the land was still hard to cultivate: the climate was harsh and roadways almost non-existent.

As a result, many men became lumberjacks. To make ends meet, colonists went to work for forest entrepreneurs in the lumber camps. At least this way the men earned wages that they could use to buy goods. (Often, the general store was owned by the forestry company.) Colonists and forest entrepreneurs became interdependent, producing an AGRO-FOREST ECONOMY.

Thus, the forest entrepreneur needed the colonist, who provided him with cheap labour and food for his camps. The colonist, in turn, needed the forest entrepreneur, who provided him with a necessary supplementary income and a market for his agricultural products.²⁷

Colonization was not successful if judged strictly in agricultural terms. Farm technology was too limited and the physical conditions too difficult.

The colonists' work in the lumber camps became an essential part of their lives for it ensured their survival.

Even in the backwoods, the colonists were caught up in the growing movement known as the wage labour movement.

²⁷ Linteau et al., *Québec: A History, 1867-1929*, 106.

The Transportation Revolution: The Road to Change

1.3 EXERCISE 28

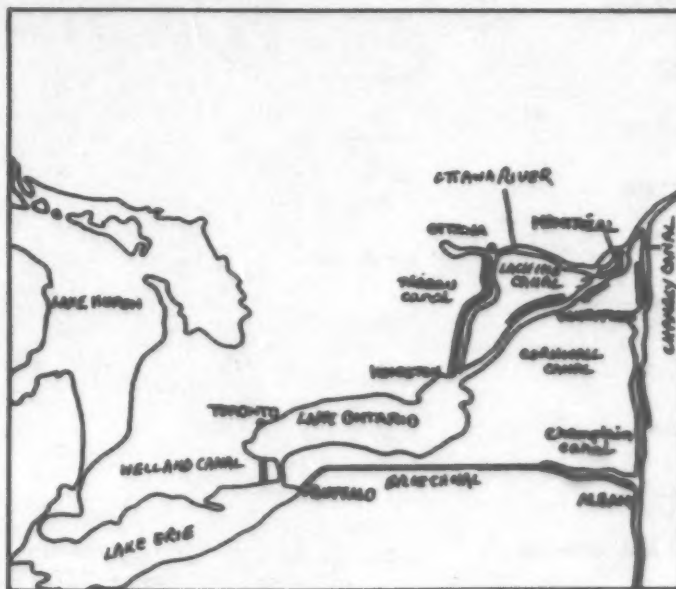
Put a check mark (✓) beside the means of transportation which were in common use in the 19th century. Answer to the best of your knowledge.

Sailboats (wooden)	_____
Automobiles	_____
Railways	_____
Trucks	_____
Motorcycles	_____
Steamships	_____
Horse-drawn carriages	_____
Streetcars	_____
Airplanes	_____
Wagons	_____
Canoes and rowboats	_____

Transportation was the key to success for merchants and industrialists. In order to sell more products and to more distant markets, merchants had to grapple constantly with the problems posed by the transportation of merchandise.

THE EARLY CANALS

Starting in the early 19th century, Montréal merchants worked to make their city a major transportation and communication centre. Montréal was an innovator in river navigation. First of all, the natural river canal was widened between Québec and Montréal to allow ocean-going vessels to go upstream as far as Montréal. The biggest project was the creation of a canal system on the St. Lawrence which allowed boats to go as far as the Great Lakes. This project required capital and an extensive labour force. In the 1840s, Irish immigrants and rural French Canadians were hired to do the job. Completed in 1848, this project temporarily created the first relatively large group of wage labourers in Québec.



THE RAILWAY: THE FIRST PHASE OF THE TRANSPORTATION REVOLUTION

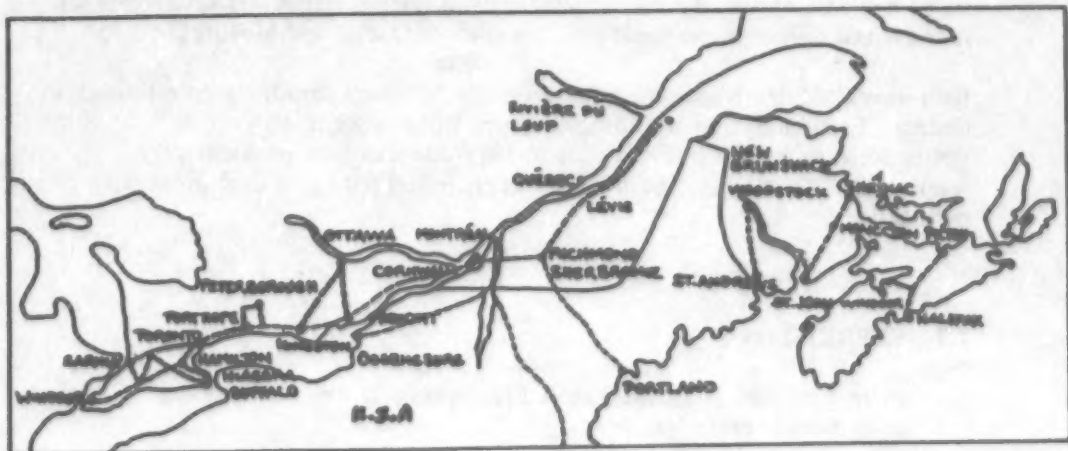
The steam locomotive was introduced and the railway system expanded in the 1830s in England.

One look at the map of Canada, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, shows how the growth of this vast nation followed the building of the railway from east to west.

As early as 1840, the possibility of linking Québec and Ontario by rail was considered. In 1860, the Grand Trunk Railway Company linked Sarnia and Rivière-du-Loup.

After Confederation, the Intercolonial Railway Company extended the line from Rivière-du-Loup to Halifax (Nova Scotia) by way of New Brunswick. Finally, in 1885, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company made the dreams of Canadian merchants come true by building a railway between Montréal and Vancouver.

In addition to the main corridors, a complex series of secondary lines crisscrossed Québec and Ontario. In 1867, there were only 92 km of railway in Québec, but by 1901 there were 5 600 km.



ROADS: THE POOR RELATION

Because the main urban centres were linked by railway lines, the government did little to construct and maintain roads. Trains moved people and merchandise much faster.

Rural roads were in very poor condition. In some regions, the rural people were unable to travel the distances necessary to market their produce. This situation prolonged the existence of subsistence agriculture.

Men and Women on the Move

Essentially a French colony in 1763, Canada changed dramatically during the 19th century.

A first wave of immigrants of British origin (English Loyalists from the United States, plus English and Scottish merchants) quickly populated regions such as present-day Ontario, the Eastern Townships, the Ottawa Valley, the Gaspé, the area south of Montréal, as well as Québec City and Montréal. Later, in the early 19th century, the Irish, driven from their country by poverty and famine became, along with French Canadians, the first working class in Québec. They dug canals, laid the railway, and worked in the forest or in the ports of Québec and Montréal.

Both waves of English-speaking immigrants reinforced the British presence throughout Canada. Even though French Canadians were in the majority, they were outnumbered in the cities. From 1831 to 1865, Montréal was predominantly Anglophone. Even today, Montréal is strongly influenced by its English-speaking population.

1.3 EXERCISE 29

In your opinion, is Montréal more Francophone or Anglophone today? Explain, using facts or examples.

In 1861, Anglophones accounted for 40%, that is, almost half, of the population of Québec City. However, with the decline of many economic activities, shipyard closures, and a decrease in port activities, many decided to look for work elsewhere. By 1901, Anglophones made up less than 15% of the population.

**Distribution of Québec's Population
by Ethnic Origin, 1871, 1901**

Year	French		British		Other	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1871	929 817	78.0	243 041	20.4	18 658 (6 988 of whom are Amerindian)	1.6
1901	1 322 115	80.2	290 169	17.6	36 614 (10 142 of whom are Amerindian)	2.2

Source: Québec Yearbooks, 1872 and 1902.

In 19th-century Québec, French and British ethnic differences were marked. The other ethnic groups were barely visible. Culturally speaking, these differences were evident in their institutions. Each group had its own churches, schools, hospitals, and charitable organizations.

Finally, another fact worth noting is that in 19th-century Québec more people left the province than moved in. Between 1840 and 1930, it is estimated that some 900 000 Quebecers left the province, most of them French-speaking.

Modern means of transportation made it easier to move in search of work.

Industrialization

In the late 19th century, the majority of Quebecers still lived on farms. In 1871, the rural population accounted for 77.2% of the total population, while by 1891 that proportion had dropped to 66.4%.

Would the tidal wave of industrialization ever sweep over Québec and the rest of Canada? Ships and trains now transported people and goods at speeds never before witnessed. Geographically and demographically, the country was growing. On the political scene, in 1878, the central government created a "national policy" aimed at increasing tariffs on imported manufactured products. The government sought to promote Canadian industry by limiting the purchase of products made in foreign countries.

By the late 19th century, Ontario and Québec were touched by the first stirrings of the Industrial Revolution. However, Ontario was always one step ahead of Québec.

Industrialization did not progress at the expected rate. A worldwide economic crisis in 1873 slowed down economic growth for several years. But the tide was irreversible, and Québec stepped up its industrial growth at the start of the 20th century.

**Dollar Value of Manufactured Products
Québec, 1861-1901**

Sectors	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Food and beverages	3 830 307	18 650 000	22 440 000	34 700 000	33 099 000
Tobacco	262 050	1 430 000	1 750 000	3 600 000	8 231 000
Rubber	---	---	---	---	39 000
Leather	1 206 527	14 330 000	21 680 000	18 900 000	20 325 000
Textiles	788 316	1 340 000	2 400 000	4 300 000	12 352 000
Clothing	28 000	5 850 000	10 040 000	13 600 000	16 542 000
Wood	4 155 693	11 690 000	12 790 000	18 500 000	16 340 000
Pulp and paper	268 200	540 000	1 342 000	2 300 000	6 461 000
Iron and steel	1 472 680	3 130 000	4 220 000	7 600 000	12 842 000
Printing & publishing	---	1 250 000	1 830 000	2 300 000	3 510 000
Transportation equipment	648 041	2 910 000	3 600 000	9 900 000	8 058 000
Non-ferrous metals	---	---	---	---	1 497 000
Electrical appliances	47 300	---	---	400 000	1 815 000
Nonmetallic mineral products	321 390	---	---	---	1 630 000
Oil and coal	---	---	---	---	245 000
Chemicals	130 600	---	---	---	4 138 000
Other	35 750	1 510 000	2 490 000	4 270 000	1 342 000
Total of sectors surveyed	15 000 000	77 200 000	104 660 000	153 300 000	153 574 000
Total of classified sectors	13 194 854	62 630 000	84 582 000	120 370 000	148 467 000
Sample	87.9%*	81.1%	80.8%	78.5%	96%

* The 13 194 854 classified sectors accounted for 87.9% of all 15 000 000 sectors surveyed.

Source: Jean Hamelin and Yves Roby, *Histoire économique du Québec 1851-1896*, 267, quoted in Linteau et al., *Histoire du Québec contemporain (1867-1929)*, 120.

1.3 EXERCISE 30

What were the five most important production sectors in 1861 and 1901?

The Urban Population

Starting in the early 19th century, British immigrants and French Canadians from local farms made up the first groups of manual labourers to head for the factories. They went to live near the industrial areas, thus creating the first working-class districts. Without land, they had no choice—they needed jobs to survive. Little by little throughout this century, maids, labourers, and craftsmen became factory workers. They performed extremely simple tasks for wages that were often ridiculously low. Wages in the footwear, textile, clothing, and tobacco industries were insufficient to provide for the workers' families. Unemployment and sickness were as catastrophic as blights or hail for farmers. Low wages and lack of job security were the lot of these industrial workers.

In spite of all this, men and women headed for the city in increasing numbers to find jobs, and cities grew rapidly.

In 1851, Québec's urban population accounted for 14.9% of the total population (it was 13.1% for all of Canada). This proportion more than doubled by 1901, reaching 36.1% (34.9% for all of Canada).

The following population chart gives figures for the major urban centres in 19th-century Québec.

**Population of Major Urban Centres
in Québec, 1861-1901**

Municipality	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Montréal Region					
City of Montréal	90 323	107 225	140 247	216 650	267 730
Montréal and suburbs*	100 723	126 314	170 745	250 165	324 880
Saint-Jérôme	---	1 159	2 032	2 868	3 619
Joliette	---	3 047	3 268	3 347	4 220
Sorel	4 778	5 636	5 791	6 669	7 957
Saint-Hyacinthe	3 695	3 746	5 321	7 016	9 210
Saint-Jean	3 317	3 022	4 314	4 722	4 030
Valleyfield	---	1 800	3 906	5 551	11 055
Québec City Region					
Québec City	42 052	59 699	62 446	63 090	68 840
Lévis	---	6 691	5 597	7 301	7 783
Lauzon	---	---	3 556	3 551	3 416
Eastern Townships (Estrie)					
Sherbrooke	5 899	4 432	7 227	10 110	11 765
Magog	---	---	---	2 100	3 516
Granby	---	876	1 040	1 710	3 773
Thetford Mines	---	---	---	---	3 256
Coaticook	---	1 160	2 682	3 086	2 880
Farnham	---	1 317	1 880	2 822	3 114
Other					
Hull	---	3 800	6 890	11 264	13 993
Trois-Rivières	6 058	7 570	8 670	8 334	9 981
Chicoutimi	---	7 570	8 670	2 277	3 826
Rivière-du-Loup	---	1 541	2 292	4 175	4 569

* Suburb: A suburb is defined here as a town or village located on Montréal Island and bordering Montréal proper.

Source: Canada Census, quoted in Linteau et al., *Québec: A History, 1867-1929*, 130.

1.3 EXERCISE 31

Name the major urban centres in 1871 and 1901 in Québec.

[illegible]

MAP OF 19TH-CENTURY QUÉBEC TOWNS AND CITIES



Throughout the 19th century, industry underwent radical and irreversible change, but production was still, for the most part, based on a subsistence agricultural economy.

One of the clearest indications that industrialization was on the rise was increased urbanization. Québec towns swelled with Anglophone immigrants (Irish, Scottish, English) and French Canadians from the country. The first working-class population in Québec was made up of these people.

THE WORKING-CLASS FAMILY

You have seen how, in many cases, workers were unable to support their families adequately on one salary. Remember that, once established in the city, breadwinners had to earn enough money to feed, clothe, and house their wives and children.

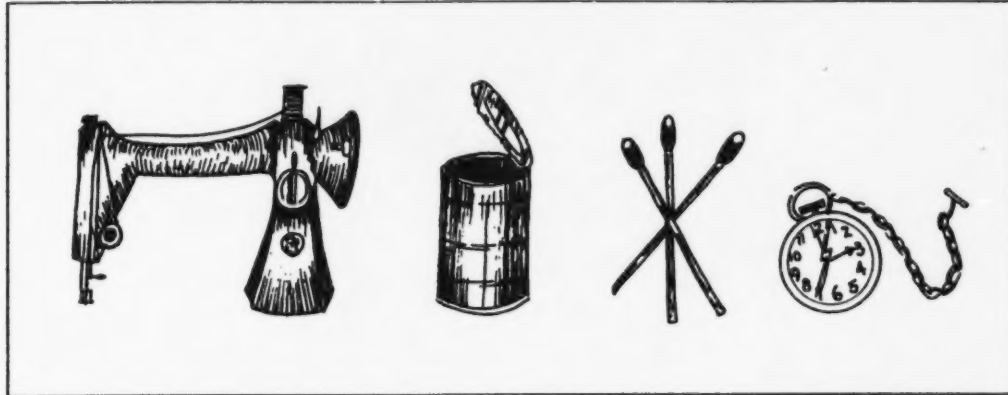
Very often women entered the work force to increase the family income. They could even do this by working at home. The sewing machine, invented in 1846, quickly became an indispensable tool for housewives. Women sewed for the family, but also for clothing retailers. Because these seamstresses were paid only for each item produced, they put in very long hours. But just as often, women went to work in factories, for ten to twelve hours per day, six days a week.

However, in addition to this work outside the home, women still shouldered the responsibility for household chores, which they did in cramped quarters and with no running water. Population density was very high in working-class districts. Two- and three-storey houses were built with increasing frequency. Some families even lived in cramped makeshift dwellings in backyards.



Furthermore, many children, starting at age nine or ten, were used as a source of cheap labour in factories. All members of the working-class family helped support the family, with everyone contributing his or her wages.

New Technology and Domestic Life



In the late 19th century, more and more women were obliged to work and live in urban dwellings. Eighty percent of Quebecers lived in rented housing. Food and lodging swallowed up 80% of the family budget.

Women had to be very ingenious to make ends meet since most working-class families lived below the poverty line.

Furniture was sparse. Technological innovations had not yet entered the home, so the housewife had to make do with traditional ways of satisfying the family's needs.

The only innovation that did make its way into most homes was the sewing machine. Certain other inventions (matches, cheap watches, tinned foods, china, oil lamps and cement) existed and could have improved the standard of living, had they not been so expensive. As it was, working-class families could not afford them.

Women worked as hard as men to earn their wages. Even though both men and women experienced the same job insecurity, the socioeconomic role of the working woman was nonetheless different since it could not be separated from her role within the family. Women had to do two jobs because 19th-century men did not do domestic chores. The marvels of technology had yet to touch women's lives; women would have to wait until after the Second World War (1945) to benefit from modern technology in the home.

Finally, the way women's domestic work was organized depended largely on general living conditions in the city.

Overwhelmed by the sudden growth of the urban population, 19th-century municipalities tried to resolve certain urgent problems quickly. Here are a few of the problems they faced.

Pre-industrial towns had not foreseen any need for sanitary measures. However, with the growth in population, throwing garbage in the streets or letting it rot in yards was no longer acceptable. Municipalities had to organize the collection of garbage and animal carcasses.

In the city, the water man distributed water to each household. Water had to be used sparingly because large quantities were needed to prepare food, do the dishes, wash the clothes and floors, bathe, and so on. It must have been difficult for the women of the time to keep their houses "spic and span." In 1850, a more modern water distribution system was installed in Montréal; however, this water was not filtered and typhoid epidemics broke out. Sewers also had to be built in order to eliminate the many outhouses.

It was a long time before these improvements were implemented on a large scale because there was so much to be done in these ever-expanding cities. In general, municipalities did their best to solve the problems. Essential services, aqueducts, sewers, gas, and later, electricity, public transport, and police and fire departments were introduced.

In pre-industrial towns, citizens nearly always walked to their destination. As cities expanded and became more heavily industrialized, public transport became essential.

In 1861, the first streetcars, pulled by horses, made their appearance in Montréal and Québec. Streetcars were privately owned. In 1892, the first electric streetcars began running in Montréal.

If you listen to local radio fairly regularly, you will notice that there is a high incidence of fire in Québec. However, in the 19th century, the situation was even worse. Fires were a curse that left families devastated. Two fires destroyed the whole of the Saint-Roch and part of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste districts of Québec City in 1845. In 1852, 1 200 buildings were razed in Montréal, leaving 9 000 people (one-sixth of the population) homeless.

Unfortunately, the infant mortality rate reflected the hardships endured by working-class families. By 1896, 220 children out of every 1 000²⁸ died before the age of one year. Particularly high in Montréal, the infant mortality rate in working-class districts for the years 1877 to 1896 was 36.7/1 000, while it was 18.7/1 000 in the middle-class districts.

How Did People Deal with Hardship?

People's ideas about poverty and how to combat it vary from era to era. In the nineteenth century, these ideas were influenced by capitalism and its accompanying ideology, LIBERALISM, so that poverty was viewed as an individual phenomenon, a person's failure to adapt to the economic and social system. Therefore, aid to the poor had to be directed towards helping them to adapt, and people who showed promise of being able to change were the ones who deserved to be helped—this was the source of the distinction often encountered in nineteenth-century writing between the "deserving" poor and the rest.²⁹

All forms of government-administered aid such as health insurance, unemployment insurance, and welfare, are universal rights that were guaranteed only in the middle of the 20th century, that is, relatively recently. In the 19th century, the government did not intervene in matters of health or charity. In French Québec, the Catholic Church provided a large part of the necessary support, especially through the parish priests and religious communities who managed orphanages, hospitals, shelters, and so on. A parallel system existed for Anglophones. St. Bridget's Refuge in Montréal is an example.

Many middle-class citizens performed their charitable duty by forming benevolent societies. However, these institutions were careful to choose only "deserving" beneficiaries.

Finally, within the working class, MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES appeared. Every member of the Union Saint-Joseph, created in Montréal in the mid-19th century, paid dues. Thus a modest pension was available in the event of illness, or a widow could collect a certain amount of money in the case of death.

²⁸ Terry Copp, *Anatomy of Poverty* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), 167.

²⁹ Linteau et al., *Québec: A History 1867-1929*, 172.

As mentioned earlier, in the rural parishes, charity was synonymous with cooperation. In the cities, the large number of people and the lack of contact between neighbours made cooperation more difficult. Charity was provided through structured organizations: religious communities and benevolent societies, such as the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge. While these societies could help relieve the pain of poverty, they were far from being able to solve the problem.

In the cities, working-class families depended entirely on their wages for survival. With the nature of work now completely redefined, both men and women had to keep up with the pace set by capitalist employers.

This dependence forced every member of the family—father, mother, and children—to join the work force in order to survive. Urban living conditions were unstable, always bordering on extreme poverty. For better or worse, reliance on private charity became practically the only way of surviving.

Industrialization and urbanization led to a greater dependence on money and business, but apart from this fundamental change, uncertainty was the everyday lot of the ordinary person. Technology had yet to enter the working-class home.

The Concept of Time in the City

Given the fact that urban activities differed from rural ones, the division of the day into work and rest periods had to be rethought. Men working in factories had to rest whenever their shift work, which had been set by a third party, allowed. This schedule hardly varied at all, since the change of seasons had little effect on industrial activity. Therefore, labourers no longer had any control over their work schedules; once the master of his or her own time, the industrial worker lost this type of independence.

In the 19th century, time was measured in terms of seasonal activities. But in the early 20th century, time was calculated using new technologies, such as watches, clocks, and factory time clocks. Time was divided into hours and minutes, and every single second was considered valuable. Workers lived according to a fixed timetable in which meal and rest times occurred at the same time and lasted the same length of time every day. Thus, in contrast with the individualized perception of time in the preceding century, the concept of time as being externally controlled became increasingly universal.³⁰

³⁰ Beaudoin, *L'été dans la culture québécoise, 18^e et 19^e siècles*, 193-194. [Free translation]



In the 19th century, technology radically transformed the workplace. As more factories went up, cities mushroomed. Workers had to keep pace with complex machines powered by energy sources that were more powerful than humans. Workers were no longer masters of their own time, and this affected their entire lifestyle. Their time was no longer their own—it was controlled and calculated by employers.

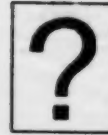
This concept of time was totally different from that which governed the life of rural dwellers. In the cities, workers were no longer masters of their own time, unlike most 19th-century people living in the country.

However, even in the cities, technology had yet to affect private lives. While living conditions based on a subsistence economy were such that country people were well fed and properly housed, conditions for most city dwellers were terrible, especially for manual labourers, day-workers, domestics and the like.

The new technology had not yet entered the home, and no modern conveniences took the sting out of the harsh realities of industrial working conditions. Workers could not afford the new articles and machines that technology and science had to offer because their wages were barely sufficient to cover basic living needs, let alone luxury items.

City women waged a constant battle to keep their homes in order, as did country women, the difference being that urban housewives had to work around factory schedules imposed on their husband, children, and sometimes, even on themselves.

Review Exercises



INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.3

To describe the main technological changes that took place in the industrial era and their impact on the dominant way of life.

1.3 EXERCISE 32

The section on Intermediate Objective 1.3 begins and ends with texts which explain how 19th-century men and women lived. Comment on the texts entitled "Schedule for a Summer Day" and "The Concept of Time in the City," bearing in mind what you have learned about the 19th century.

1.3 EXERCISE 33

Are the following statements about 19th-century Canadian history true or false?

- a) Time was an individual matter for the 19th-century farmer.

- b) The Industrial Revolution began in Great Britain.

- c) The technological changes of the 18th and 19th centuries had no impact on the work patterns of the people of that era.

- d) Electricity is an energy source that predates the steam engine.

- e) In the 18th and 19th centuries, several important inventions appeared in the textile industry: the spinning jenny, the water frame, and the spinning mule.

- f) In the 19th century, Upper Canada and the Prairies thrived by growing wheat for export.

- g) Agriculture in Québec deteriorated considerably in the late 19th century.

- h) One characteristic of rural life was that most household items were handmade.

- i) Generally speaking, in 19th-century Québec, farmhouses were less comfortable than urban dwellings.

- j) The Catholic Church in Québec promoted colonization and idealized the traditional agricultural way of life of French Canadians.

- k) Railways did not exist in the 19th century.

- l) The rural population greatly increased at the end of the 19th century.

- m) In the 19th century, technical innovations that would lighten the workload of housewives had yet to become common in private homes.

- n) Living conditions in 19th-century cities were difficult for working-class families.

Suggested Reading

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TERMINAL OBJECTIVE 1

To describe the context of technological changes and their impact on the Western way of life.

INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.4

To identify the main technological factors which have contributed to the rise of the consumer society.



"Progress means consumption. Consumption is our future." Comment on this statement.

Progress shapes the various aspects of our daily lives. It affects political, social, and scientific decisions and has become a symbol of our civilization.

In the section on this intermediate objective, we will see how the concept of progress has evolved since the beginning of the 20th century. We will take a closer look at social and economic changes in Québec and the rest of Canada before 1930, with special emphasis on the ideas advanced by Henry Ford. The Great Depression of the 1930s led many to question some of the traditional forces that resisted change. The end of World War II (1945) ushered in the era of consumerism. Various traditions were questioned in spite of resistance by the Church. These golden years of prosperity led to an economic crisis in the early 1970s, which tempered the idea of progress at any cost.

Progress According to Ford

Every age has its own beliefs. Primitive societies believed in ancestral myths. Tradition was a stronghold that protected society from hidden dangers in the present or the future. The significance of every act (marriage, hunting, eating, politics, crime) could be found in the ancestral past.

At the other end of the spectrum, the belief in universal progress distinguishes modern societies and shapes them politically and economically. However, a worldwide belief in progress has existed only since the end of World War II. Yet, from the very first decade of this century, the automobile manufacturer Henry Ford emphasized the importance of progress in the history of humanity.

THE FIRST STEP TOWARD THE CONSUMER SOCIETY

Henry Ford (1863-1948) was not just a car manufacturer, but a thinker as well. His criticism of other American employers in *Moving Forward* (1930) was enlightening. His first observations had to do with how consumer markets were organized.

The older businessman aimed to sell to a rather narrow circle which he called his trade, and it never occurred to him that he could sell to a whole nation. Therefore, he very naturally saw his product in terms of a very few people and could bargain with those people.³¹

As soon as production of consumer goods increased, it became obvious that larger markets than those provided by the privileged classes would have to be found.

Both wages and profits have a broad social effect in sustaining consumption, and consumption sustains industry and industry sustains employment. If the wage link in the chain be weak, the chain will break and the whole machine will stop.³²

Ford's theories define the basis of the consumer society. To make his dream come true, Ford proposed that workers' wages be increased, thereby enabling workers to buy more.

If the six-day week of twelve-hour days were restored under modern production methods, then shortly we should have a great closing down of

³¹ Henry Ford, *Moving Forward* (New York: Doubleday, 1930), 52.

³² Ford, 62.

shops simply because the people, regardless of their finances, would not have the leisure to consume what was being produced. It is the part of the managers of industry not only to arrange their affairs so as to pay high wages but also to arrange that the workers have leisure—for not otherwise can the wheels be kept constantly turning.³³

But higher salaries were not enough. As Ford pointed out, people also needed more free time in order to buy more:

Not even all the business that the rich give us," said Ford quite rightly, "is enough to ensure that an industry survive. It is the working class, here at home, who buys. Like us, they too must become comfortable [well-off] if we want to sell the enormous quantities of goods we produce Therein lies the basis of the new consumer society.³⁴

Remember that these are the words of an employer. Ford was not all talk and no action; he applied these principles in his factories. A 1929 survey conducted in Ford's Detroit factories bears this out: of 100 families, 47 owned a car, 98 an electric iron, 76 a sewing machine, 57 a washing machine, 49 a phonograph, 36 a radio, and 21 a vacuum cleaner.

Of course, this increase in consumption was not typical of the entire United States in 1929, let alone of Europe or Canada. Nonetheless, it signalled the coming of a new form of economic growth based on consumption by the masses—an era in which all the objects and activities of daily life, including children's toys, could be bought or sold. Let us now take a look at Québec and the rest of Canada to see how this process, which began in the early 20th century, gradually took shape.

The ideology of progress paved the way for the consumer society. Henry Ford felt that buying could not be limited to a small number of privileged customers. Production scales had increased and the working classes had to have access to these products. Two conditions were essential to getting consumerism off the ground: an increase in workers' wages and an increase in their free time.

³³ Ford, 63.

³⁴ Ford, 63.

1.4 EXERCISE 34

It may come as a surprise that a capitalist like Henry Ford would propose that workers' wages and free time be increased.

How did he justify these "radical" propositions to other business people?

1.4 EXERCISE 35

Judging from today's world, would you say that Ford's ideas have been applied since 1926? Give examples.

(This question requires some thought, so take your time . . . there are no instant answers.)

Changes in the Structure of the Québec and Canadian Economies Prior to the Great Depression of the 1930s

The economic and technological profiles of Québec and the rest of Canada changed completely between the beginning of the century and the end of World War II (1945). New industries appeared and new technologies became part of daily life. But growing consumption had not yet had a great impact on everyday life.

At the start of the century, cars were more of a curiosity than a necessity. Ice was widely used to conserve food, and electrical appliances were just beginning to be used. In spite of industrial development, the way of life was still defined by traditional consumer habits.

This time lag between changes in consumer habits and both technological progress and increased industrial production capacity can be explained by at least four factors:

- **the lack of social policies and services** such as free health care, compulsory schooling, and old-age pensions. Had these policies and services existed, workers would have been freed from these financial burdens and would have had more spending power
- **the Church's opposition** to any changes in way of life that would undermine its moral hold over the population
- **the lack of wage policies** (such as those proposed by Henry Ford) which would allow for more spending
- **the lack of a system of credit** that would encourage the purchase of large consumer durables (houses, cars).

Using this as a starting point, we will examine the technical and economic changes that took place before the 1929 Crash and will take a closer look at the political and social resistance to parallel changes in the living conditions of the population (education, health, wages, credit).

Finally, we will see the profound changes in both the way of life and the structure of the economy that have characterized Québec and the rest of Canada since the 1930s.

Economic and Technological Changes

ECONOMIC GROWTH

Québec, like the rest of Canada, experienced an economic growth spurt starting early in the 20th century. Between 1890 and 1930, the average rate of growth of the Gross National Product was in the order of 4.1%, but between 1920 and 1930 there was an unprecedented increase of 6.1%.

TECHNOLOGY INVADES INDUSTRY

The amount of capital spent on machinery and buildings in the Québec manufacturing industry also increased substantially during this time. The proportion it represented of the total capital spent rose from 46.7% in 1900 to 68.9% in 1930.³⁵

This was the first indication of the radical changes that the industrial sector would undergo, from a type of production based on the use of readily available and cheap labour, to production that made increasing use of technology in the workplace.

This phenomenon seems to have been prompted by changes in Québec's industrial structure, among other factors. Prior to this, its industrial structure was characterized by an abundance of light industries that used little technology and that produced goods primarily for the Canadian market. From the late 19th century onward, however, new sectors based on the exploitation of natural resources developed, and this profoundly changed Québec's industrial structure.

These sectors were hydroelectricity, pulp and paper, electrometallurgy, electrochemistry, and mining.³⁶ Most of these sectors were geared to the export market and used modern technology imported from Europe and the United States.

³⁵ *Québec Yearbook*, 1920 and 1929.

³⁶ Linteau et al., *Québec: A History, 1867-1929*, 308.

1.4 EXERCISE 36

- a) At the beginning of the 20th century, increased capital was spent on machinery and buildings (sites, locations) in the Québec manufacturing industry. This increase was an indicator of the changes taking place in the industrial sector. Which changes are being referred to?

- b) Explain the structural changes that took place in Québec industry at the beginning of the 20th century.

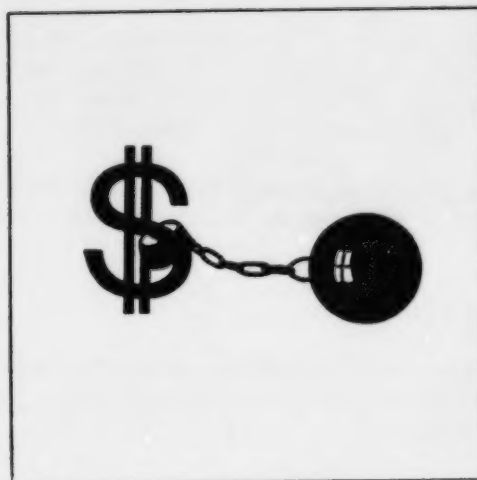
- c) Have you ever worked in a factory? If so, what kind of enterprise was it? Did it use cheap, readily available labour or advanced technology? Where was the factory located?

NO WAGE INCREASES

Wages continued to be subject to the whims of the free market: they were directly determined by fluctuations in the job market and economic cycles in general. There was no minimum wage, and purchasing power, that is, the workers' ability to consume, continued to decrease over the years.

O. J. Firestone³⁷ perceived that in Canada, the real annual salary dropped from \$726 to \$618 between 1900 and 1910. P. A. Linteau³⁸ noted that between 1900 and 1914 in Québec, there were no increases in real annual salaries. However, from 1920 to 1929, purchasing power remained steady. But given the unprecedented hike in productivity during that period, the trend in wage increases was weak compared with what it had been at the beginning of the century.

The result was that workers could not afford to buy all the new products made available through increased productivity.³⁹



³⁷ O. J. Firestone, *Canada's Economic Development 1867-1953* (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1958).

³⁸ Linteau et al., *Québec: A History, 1867-1929*.

³⁹ Nouredine Mnasri, "Le travail à temps partiel: un quasi-rapport salarial," Ph.D. diss., Université Laval, Québec, 1986.

Social Changes

AGRICULTURE IN TRANSITION

The changes that were taking place in industry were part of an even broader transformation that was affecting society as a whole.

Statistically at least, agriculture gradually lost its dominant position in the economy, and this in spite of the support provided by the Church and certain nationalists.

Agriculture accounted for 40.9% of production in 1870, whereas in 1930 it accounted for only 14.9%. The mechanization of agriculture was an important contributing factor. In 1901, the share of capital invested in farm machinery was no greater than 6% of the total capital; however, in 1921, it jumped to 10.3% and, in 1931, to 11.1%.⁴⁰

LAND USE

Between 1867 and 1939, successive Church-supported Québec governments allocated no less than \$53 million for road construction. In spite of their sustained efforts, 40 000 to 70 000 people left their farms between 1891 and 1931. During the same period, the number of farms dropped from 175 000 to 136 000.⁴¹

The same phenomenon occurred in Ontario. Between 1901 and 1911, the rural population decreased by 52 184, while the urban population increased by 392 511.

THE LURE OF THE CITY

Rural depopulation was so great during this period that the clergy and die-hard farmers tried to discourage the exodus by depicting the city as a soulless monster full of sickness, crime, and misery.

An article published in a 1915 edition of *L'École sociale populaire* describes urban living conditions this way:

⁴⁰ *Québec Yearbook*, 1960.

⁴¹ Jean Hamelin, *Histoire du Québec* (Saint-Hyacinthe, Québec: Edisem inc.; Toulouse, France: Privat, 1976), 416.

Newlyweds who decide to set up house in the city don't know about the cramped dwellings, the unhelpful neighbours, the rampant and deadly illnesses or the high cost of living until it's too late. The young men from wealthy families who move into town to earn forty to sixty dollars a month, regularly spending every cent they make to keep up their old habits, seem to be living a life of ease. They travel a great deal and dress well. But when they get sick or lose their job, in less than a year they are reduced to seeking charity. In time children are born and fall sick since in the city, women and children are always ill, and even high wages are not enough.

In contrast, a young farmer who stays on the farm could be sick for years before he's ruined. Even if the farmer were inactive, he could run the farm from his sickbed; it would continue to produce, the cows would still give milk, his horses would remain his property, and all the animals would produce.⁴²

The following testimony, given by a farmer in 1871, contradicts the preceding viewpoint:

I was once the owner of a small farm. I had a one-and-a-half acre lot which my father had given me when I married. Overall, it was good land. But in spite of my endless labour and my scraping and saving, after 25 years of work, I was no further ahead than I'd been on my wedding day except that I now had six children to feed. My eldest sons often daydreamed, talking about friends who'd left to seek their fortune in California and complaining that there was no way of getting rich by farming. They were right because the proof was right in front of them, and without admitting it, I agreed with them.⁴³

Despite these contradictions, the fact remains that between 1890 and 1930, urban populations increased at the expense of the rural population.

THE AUTOMOBILE

In the early 20th century, the invention of the automobile transformed the traditional bases of the Western way of life.

⁴² Adélaré Dugré, "Le désertion des campagnes, ses causes, ses remèdes," *L'École sociale populaire*, No. 50 (1915): 50. [Free translation]

⁴³ Michel Allard et al., *L'histoire canadienne à travers le document, le Québec 1867 - aujourd'hui* (Montréal: Guérin, 1986), 223. [Free translation]

You already know that Ford wanted to make the car a criterion of social progress. You also know that 47% of his factory workers owned cars in the late 1920s. Car ownership in Canada was much more limited.

Automobiles made their appearance gradually, starting in the early 20th century; however, initially they were a luxury item and a curiosity that only the privileged classes could afford. In 1907, for instance, there were only 176 automobiles in Québec, while Ontario already had 1 176. But by 1930, less than 30 years later, these figures had soared to 178 548 for Québec and 562 506 for Ontario.

Today's dependence on the automobile had not yet become a fact of life. However, the advent of the automobile soon had an effect on roadways and traditional means of urban transportation. Taxis replaced carriages and taxi drivers replaced coachmen. Carters were replaced by truckers and automobile associations, such as "l'Association des bonnes routes," were formed and even before 1907, started to pressure governments to improve and construct roads.⁴⁴

Marked social changes occurred in the early 20th century. First of all, agriculture gradually lost its dominant position in the economic structure. The Church, aided by the provincial government, tried to sustain the agricultural way of life by promoting colonization and by denigrating city life. However, their efforts could not stop rural depopulation and migration to the cities.

One invention in particular substantially altered the traditional way of life: the automobile. Although little used at first, it nevertheless came to replace certain traditional means of transportation and led to the improvement of roadways.

⁴⁴ Linteau et al., *Québec: A History, 1867-1929*, 346.

1.4 EXERCISE 37

- a) Which statistics indicate that agriculture was losing its dominant position in the Québec economy?

- b) What noticeable change occurred in agriculture in the early 20th century?

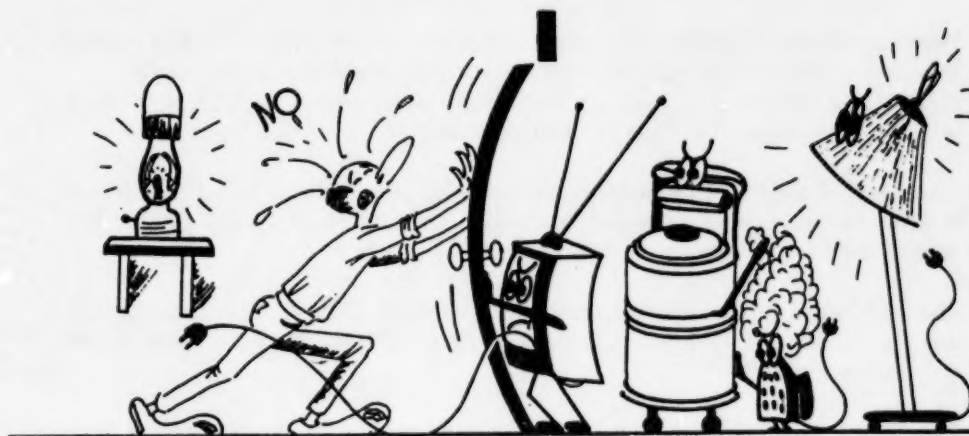
1.4 EXERCISE 38

Comment on the article published in *L'École sociale populaire* in 1915. What important features stand out in the comparison made between urban and rural life?

1.4 EXERCISE 39

Could we as a society live without cars today? Explain your answer.

Resistance to Change



These economic and social changes were not enough, however, to bring about a revolution in consumer trends. Appliances, radios, cars and home ownership were not common despite the changes that urban living imposed on people's traditions and habits. The consumer society envisaged by Ford was still far off.

The government refused to intervene to improve living conditions. It left this task to the charitable institutions, which were often managed by the Church.

EDUCATION: A SACRED COW

From 1892, when the first bill intended to make education mandatory was soundly defeated, the government, pressured by the Church, resisted any attempt to promote universal education. The initiatives of the Protestant Committee of 1912 were turned down by the government, even if the committee, "persuaded that the Catholics would reject the measure, recommended mandatory attendance for Protestant children."⁴⁵

⁴⁵ *Parent Report: Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec* (Québec: l'Éditeur officiel, 1965), 19.

A guardian of the French language and culture, the Catholic Church, managed to oppose all "infiltration" of the Québec school system by the laity throughout this period. School was in some ways little more than an extension of the Church, a place where children were taught devotion to the traditions and culture of Québec, but more particularly, to the institutionalized Church.

Even elementary school teachers, who were mostly women, were trained in convents. The large number of teachers who were members of the clergy testifies to the Church's overwhelming presence in the Québec school system: in 1929, 43% of all teachers were priests, Christian brothers, or nuns.

The power of the Church remained unshaken even after the Vatican's 1931 decision to adopt the principle of mandatory education. Until 1943, the Church refused any secular initiatives in this matter.

The principle of general access to education scared the Church. Was it not possible that the members of the fold would abandon the Church for the modern world once they were educated?

The Church was well aware that automobiles, the city, education, newspapers, and working women were social realities that would, sooner or later, jeopardize its power and influence people's thinking. The Church had to resort to vehement opposition to anything that might open windows on a world over which it had no control.

Some clergymen, such as Monseigneur Paquet, had no qualms about saying that "book-learning was not an indispensable and essential instrument in the training of the lower classes."⁴⁶ Worse yet, a reporter for the newspaper *L'action française* went so far as to say that reading and writing were "the work of the devil: reading does people more harm than good. It fills the mind with false, foolish, and silly ideas; it encourages violent, unhealthy emotions; it fuels imaginations with too many unrelated facts and ideas that make heads reel and keep people from thinking about and going about serious business."⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Hamelin, *Histoire du Québec*, 428. [Free translation]

⁴⁷ Hamelin, *Histoire du Québec*, 428. [Free translation]

HEALTH

Health and social services were also dominated by the Church and remained in private hands right up to the 1950s.

The government first intervened in this area in 1921 when it passed a law concerning public assistance, a law which was, unfortunately, limited in two ways: it applied only to hospitals and to those poor people whose plights were officially recorded by the government. Hospitals were free to adhere to the law or to disregard it.

This form of government intervention in health matters did not lead to the recognition of the universal right to health services. The responsibility for caring for the sick was still modelled on the French Civil Code, according to which this duty was to be assumed by the family.

Yet the need for health and social services was increasing, owing to the growth of urban centres and the erosion of the traditional family unit.

Even though the above-mentioned law was weak, Louis-Alexandre Taschereau, Québec's premier at the time, still felt that he must appease the clergy, assuring them that:

There is no question of government control over public assistance institutions. Charity does wonders that no government could accomplish, and all of its power to act should be left to it. We simply want to help our hospitals and all our charitable works as much as possible.⁴⁸

Taschereau's goodwill was not sufficient to allay the fears of a Church that was very suspicious of any kind of intervention. In 1922, in a confidential letter to the premier, the Catholic bishops asked that the law be amended in such a way that the government give up control of the moneys given to institutions.⁴⁹ In 1925, the government accepted the demands of the Church and decreed that "nothing in the act or its regulations would infringe on the rights of the bishops over religious communities or the moral, religious or disciplinary interest of the communities."⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Linteau et al., *Québec: A History, 1867-1929*, 437.

⁴⁹ Linteau et al., *Québec: A History, 1867-1929*, 438.

⁵⁰ Linteau et al., *Québec: A History, 1867-1929*, 438

OLD AGE PENSIONS

70 YEAR\$

The refusal to acknowledge the social problems bred by urbanization and the rupture of family ties resurfaced in 1927 when the federal government adopted the Old Age Pensions Act.

The law applied to people 70 years and older whose annual income was less than \$365.00; however, under no circumstances could the monthly pension exceed \$20.00.

This program, financed through taxes, was not mandatory; it was more of a social assistance program for low-income senior citizens.

In Québec, this law sparked a lively debate over the interference of the federal government in areas of provincial jurisdiction, and, up until 1936, Alexandre Taschereau categorically refused to comply, arguing that "such a measure undermined private charity and could encourage people to be irresponsible about providing for their future and about meeting their filial obligation to their parents."⁵¹

The recommendations made on this subject by the Québec Social Insurance Commission (1930) contrasted with the position of the Québec government.

While it is true that the commission also recognized the drawbacks of the federal program, going so far as to equate it with " . . . an incentive to improvidence, negligence, laziness, and a crippling reliance on the government,"⁵² it did not follow the same logic as the provincial government.

It recommended an insurance program for all workers, including farmers. This system would, according to the commission, help to encourage " . . . future beneficiaries to save, starting in early childhood, and to make arrangements to provide for themselves in their declining years."⁵³

⁵¹ Linteau et al., *Québec: A History, 1867-1929*, 438.

⁵² Linteau et al., *Histoire du Québec contemporain, le Québec depuis 1930*, 149. [Free translation]

⁵³ Linteau et al., *Histoire du Québec contemporain, le Québec depuis 1930*, 149. [Free translation]

While waiting for this program to be implemented, and given the urgent social problems in rural as well as urban areas, the commission " . . . decided that it would regard the acceptance of the 1927 federal law by the province of Québec favourably, but only as a transitional measure."⁵⁴

In the autumn of 1936, under the Union Nationale administration, old age pensions were paid for the first time.

The social changes resulting from industrialization and urbanization met with considerable resistance.

Consumerism had not yet brought about major changes in the way of life since the government refused to intervene to relieve the workers' terrible living conditions. The Church controlled the institutions that regulated education, health, and charity. The Québec government did not want to dispute the Church's overwhelming power in these areas.

Lastly, in spite of the ideas advanced by Henry Ford, wages barely increased and were unstable. Production increased, but the working class were not yet truly caught up in consumerism.

⁵⁴ Linteau et al., *Histoire du Québec contemporain, le Québec depuis 1930*, 151. [Free translation]

1.4 EXERCISE 40

What attempts were made by the federal and provincial governments to bring about changes in the areas of education, health, and social services?

own survey of the people around you.

disadvantages of today's system compared

few questions in advance and show them to

[illegible]

The Depression of the 1930s



ECONOMIC CAUSES

Economic and social changes in the first 30 years of the 20th century did not lead to coherent social policies with regard to overall living conditions.

The country grew richer, but the wealth remained in the hands of a small number of people. Production increased, while consumer purchasing power was eroded by ever-decreasing salaries and employers' profits grew proportionally.

This imbalance between production and consumption was the catalyst for the Depression of the 1930s. This time of economic crisis can be examined from four different angles.

The over-industrialization in Canada, encouraged by the halt in European production between 1914 and 1918, led to a profound imbalance between industrial production and consumer purchasing power after the end of World War I.

Once the war was over, the European countries that had depended on Canada and other countries for goods created their own industries and limited their purchase of Canadian products. To protect their industries, these countries also set up tariffs, further reducing Canada's access to their markets. This inability to sell Canadian products in foreign markets deepened the crisis and led to cutbacks in production, which, in turn, aggravated the problem of unemployment.

Because there were no income assistance policies, such as unemployment benefits and welfare, unemployment often led to severe hardship. Job loss meant loss of purchasing power. Handouts from soup kitchens organized by the Church were the only social support that could be expected by an unemployed labourer.

POLITICAL SOLUTIONS

Neither the Québec government nor the Church took the initiative of trying to solve the social problems related to unemployment and the loss of consumer purchasing power.

In other words, creating mechanisms to make living conditions keep up with economic growth was not a government priority. The Québec government's opposition to the application of the federal law on old-age pensions is evidence of this.

The Church's attitude toward social assistance continued to be based on a traditional way of life in which the family, social cohesion, God, private charity, and agriculture were considered essential to social progress.

The attitude held by Québec and the rest of Canada toward social change did not seem at that time to be particularly scandalous and self-defeating because the same attitude was found in varying degrees throughout the Western world.

In France as well as in the United States, family and private charity were considered by government to be the mainstays of social assistance.

Despite the warnings voiced by Henry Ford as early as 1910 concerning the poverty of working-class Americans, no attempts were made to develop a policy that addressed this problem until the early 1930s.

In France as well, no major policy changes occurred with regard to social assistance until the early 1930s, when workers fought for their rights and Léon Blum's socialist government came to power (1936).

The absence of social policy in Québec and the rest of Canada became a cause for economic concern in the 1940s when it became evident that Canada, unlike other Western countries, did not have a clear economic vision. This gap was keenly felt because in the course of the 1940s and 1950s, Québec and the rest of Canada were rocked by profound social and economic changes. These changes will be examined in the following pages.

The Great Depression of the 1930s was a direct result of the imbalance between production and consumer purchasing power.

World War I (1914-1918) led to over-industrialization in Canada. Once the war was over, markets for Canada's products were drastically reduced. Workers' wages were still too low to allow the workers to absorb the surplus of products.

Canada was in a state of economic crisis.

1.4 EXERCISE 42

What triggered the Depression of the 1930s?

1.4 EXERCISE 43

The governments of Québec and Canada were backward in the sense that they were the only governments in the Western Hemisphere to refuse to implement a viable social assistance policy that would improve workers' living conditions. True or false? Explain.

Affluence and the Birth of the Consumer Society

SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH

The years following World War II (1939-1945) saw profound changes in the structure of Québec's economy, as demonstrated by these statistics:

- a marked decrease in agriculture's share of production (1920: 37%; 1935: 12%; 1955: 6.3%)
- development of the mineral sector (1920: 3%; 1935: 3.6%; 1955: 6.3%)
- important advances in the construction sector (1920: 4%; 1935: 14.2%; 1955: 15.8%)
- predominance of the manufacturing sector (1920: 38%; 1935: 57%; 1955: 62.8%).

Even more significant is the growth in the production of consumer goods in Québec and the rest of Canada between 1935 and 1955. This increase was the result of more jobs and higher wages. (Wages is used here to refer to both salaries and wages.)

WAGES

New remuneration conditions were the result of parallel increases in productivity and in take-home earnings. Starting in the late 1930s, wealth was more evenly distributed between labour and management.

Compared with the 1920s when the working class share of national wealth was one-quarter that of employers, the 1940s and 1950s were a period of unprecedented parity between wages and productivity. (Try to visualize a pie representing annual national wealth divided into five equal parts. Employers took four parts, while the fifth part was divided among workers.)

Between 1940 and 1959, the workers' share of the annual national wealth was relatively comparable to that of employers.

Legal status for unions, collective agreements, and the indexation of earnings to the cost of living was accompanied by an increase in wages. This fairer distribution of wealth brought a new lifestyle—that of consumerism—within reach of the growing number of wage earners. Wage earners are those people in the national work force who earn wages or salaries. The national work force (labour force) includes self-employed workers, farmers, wage earners, employers, pensioners, people with private

incomes, and so on. Data on the number of wage earners provide information on the proportion of wage earners in the national work force.

The growing number of wage earners implied two things: first, it meant that earnings were paid for work done, and second, that these earnings were spent on needed goods.

More specifically, the increasing number of wage earners meant that there were more consumers dependent on consumer goods. Such dependence becomes even more marked when the family and community are in a period of transition, as was the case in the 1940s.

The number of wage earners in Québec has continually increased since the 1940s. The proportion rose from 68% in 1941 to 85% in 1960.⁵⁵ Increases in Québec exceeded those in Canada and France.⁵⁶ Reasons for these increases were:

- **a decrease in the number of self-employed workers.** This trend is reflected in the changing statistics concerning categories of personal income in Québec. While the net income of farmers accounted for 8.6% of total personal income for 1926, in 1959, it dropped to 2.8%. The same is true for the net income of self-employed workers in sectors other than agriculture and in non-incorporated businesses, which accounted for 13% of total personal income in 1926, but only 7.9% in 1959;
- **women in the work force.** Based on census figures, 19.7% of the work force was female in 1931, and 27.1% in 1961 (Canada Census, 1931, 1961).

After World War II, consumerism finally took hold.

The industrial structure of Québec changed and was particularly affected by a rise in the production of consumer goods, which was a result of changes in remuneration conditions (mainly wage increases) and in the growing number of wage earners.

⁵⁵ Gilles Bourques and Anne Légaré, *Le Québec, la question nationale* (Paris: Maspero, 1979).

⁵⁶ In contrast, the number of "wage earners" in France accounted for 57.9% of the work force in 1913 but had only risen to 83.8% by 1979, over sixty years later (R. Boyer, 1982). In Canada, the percentage went from 67.2% in 1946 to 76.2% in 1961, an increase of only 9% in fifteen years. (BFS: The Workforce, supplement to March 1965 report, 71-001 F).

1.4 EXERCISE 44

- a) An unprecedented parity between wages and productivity existed between 1940 and 1959. True or false? Explain.

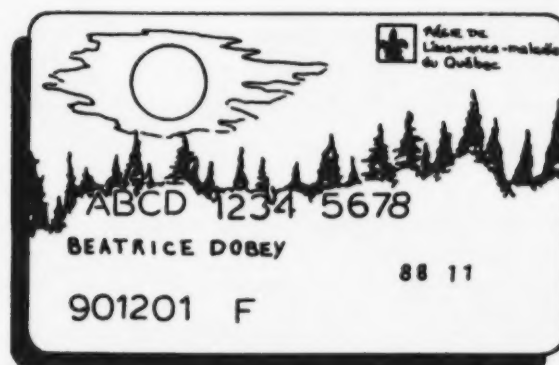
- b) What is the most obvious result of the increase in the number of wage earners?

- c) Are there any self-employed workers today? Give some examples.

Other Social Changes

You have already been made aware of the variety of institutions in Québec (provincial and federal governments and the Church) and their lack of consensus with regard to managing and directing social and economic conditions. The unions, especially the CTCC (Confédération des travailleurs catholiques du Canada), which included 70% of all union workers in the early 1930s, were weak. They were still under the influence of the Church's conception of the role of the working class, and they still had to deal with employers who were strongly opposed to any social intervention in labour relations. Such was the state of affairs both before and immediately after the Depression of the 1930s.

GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN THE SOCIAL SECTOR



HEALTH

Hospital insurance was a sensitive issue and a source of conflict between the federal and provincial governments after the 1930s. In response to recommendations made by the Rowell-Sirois Commission (1940), a proposed federal bill was tabled at a provincial health ministers' conference in 1944. After two years' debate, the bill was soundly defeated and the federal government did not take up the issue again until the 1950s.

In the meantime, in 1947, Saskatchewan adopted the first hospital insurance plan in North America, followed by British Columbia, Alberta, and Newfoundland in 1949. Encouraged by the success of these plans, and prompted by the "desire to provide all Canadians with the same access to health care," the federal government took the matter in hand in 1958 and all provincial governments except Québec approved its hospital insurance bill.

Opposition in Québec

The apathy of Maurice Duplessis' Union Nationale Party and the refusal of this administration to acknowledge the existence of social problems contributed to increased federal intervention in Québec social policy. In 1959, "84.4% of all social benefit payments made to Quebecers came from three federal programs: unemployment insurance, family allowances, and old age pensions."⁵⁷

In the area of education, the Union Nationale government was content to subsidize the educational institutions administered by the "religious elite," even though it refused to address the issue of the deplorable financial and material conditions in these institutions. For example, in 1951, more than 5 268 out of 8 780 educational institutions in Québec were without electricity and 3 580 had neither running water nor indoor bathroom facilities.⁵⁸

The Liberals in power

It was the Liberals who, after they came to power in 1960, challenged the authority of the Church in the areas of health and education (1961: Hospital Insurance Act; 1962: a law on hospitals; 1961: Parent Commission on Education, 1964: creation of the ministère de l'Éducation).

This redistribution of power between the Church and the Liberal government led to recognition of universal access to education and health services.

Educational reforms undertaken in the early 1960s gave quick results. While school attendance rates for 16- and 18-year-olds were 51% and 16%, respectively, in 1961, by 1971 these rates had increased to 91.5% and 47.5%.

⁵⁷ R. Barrette et al., "Le Parti québécois et la social-démocratie, une analyse du revenu minimum garanti," *Capitalisme et politique au Québec*, 1981, 184. [Free translation]

⁵⁸ Linteau et al., *Histoire du Québec contemporain, le Québec depuis 1930*, 316. [Free translation]

Other socioeconomic policies

Other policies affecting working conditions were adopted between 1960 and 1972:

- implementation of the Labour Code (1964)
- creation of the Québec Pension Plan (196)
- agreement between the government and doctors concerning a health insurance plan for the poor (1966)
- Health Insurance Act (1970), and so on.

FEDERAL FISCAL POLICIES

So far we have looked at the key factors that gave rise to a new affluent society: wage increases, collective agreements, universal access to health care services, and the democratization of education.

Now we will discuss federal fiscal policies that helped wage earners enter the world of consumerism by promoting the use of credit.

First steps

The first step toward a policy on credit was made in 1914, but it was rescinded in 1926 by the re-enactment of rigid monetary control mechanisms. The institutionalized use of credit came about only with the birth of the Bank of Canada in 1935 and its nationalization in 1938. This series of fiscal reforms marked the recognition of credit as an important factor in economic growth.

The use of credit for consumer buying spread throughout Canada only toward the end of the 1950s. Despite the existence of institutions that could extend credit, it was some time before the use of credit became socially acceptable.

In Québec, for example, in the early 1950s, the *caisses populaires* were so opposed to allowing consumers to accumulate debt that they campaigned against loans and credit "which would be used for purposeless, extravagant, unproductive ends, or which might either hinder or endanger genuine entrepreneurial interests."³⁹

³⁹ P. Fréchette et al., *L'économie du Québec* (Toronto: Les Éditions HRW, 1979). [Free translation]

Despite federal social policy initiatives, Maurice Duplessis' government blocked any government interference that might threaten Church authority in social and educational matters.

Policies giving universal access to health care and education were adopted only in 1960, with the Québec Liberals' accession to power.

Another important factor which allowed the working class to enter the world of consumerism was the introduction of federal fiscal policies promoting consumer credit.

1.4 EXERCISE 45

Describe Québec's educational system before and after 1960.

1.4 EXERCISE 46

a) When did the federal government table its first bill on health insurance?

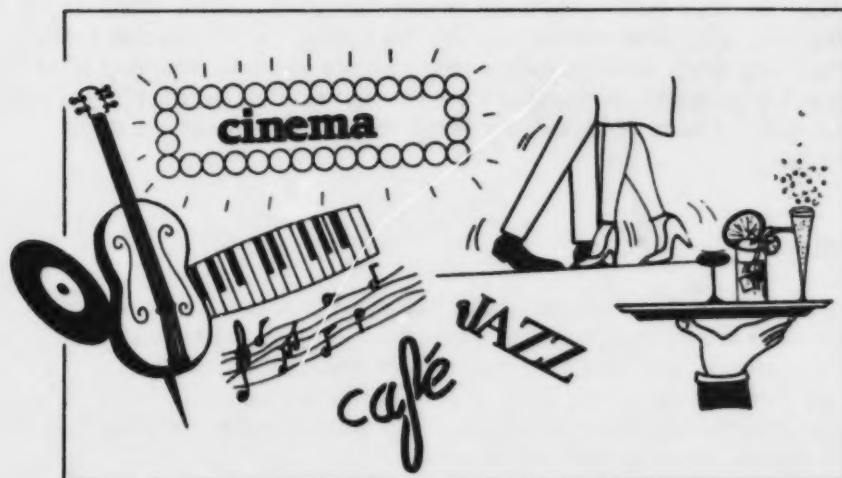
b) When did the federal proposal for national hospital insurance start to gain acceptance?

c) How did Québec respond to federal initiatives in this area?

d) When did Québec finally adopt a law concerning hospital insurance?

e) What would happen now if the Québec government decided to abolish the laws concerning hospital and health insurance?

Consumer Goods Invade Everyday Life



A taste for the easy life has developed and often leads to wastefulness, which people tend to overlook because of the advantages afforded by progress. The working class, as well as others, increasingly go to entertainment spots (theatres, movie houses, restaurants, dance halls, bars, grills and taverns); women (now a considerable part of the work force) are also going out more often, not only to work, but also to take part in recreational activities, which they once thought inappropriate.

. . . unfortunately, many other factors have contributed to this atmosphere of sensuality which has weakened the moral fibre of the working class and undermined its sense of duty: certain newspapers and magazines, certain radio programs, advertisements, and games of chance. All of these tempt the faithful to stray from the Christian path; many, however, manage to resist these perversions. (Pastoral letter on working class living conditions (1955), quoted in *L'histoire canadienne à travers le document*).⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Y. Capistran et al., *Le Québec 1867 - aujourd'hui*, 287-288. [Free translation]

The Church had reason to fear the worst. Its authority had begun to erode. Movies, cars, shows, dances, in a word, the city life that had long been condemned by the Church, won out. One proverb maintains that "might is right." In this case, it was the might of the dream-makers, the dream of freedom and excitement afforded by the automobile, that triumphed over the Church. Repressing one's desires and selflessly loving one's neighbour, while patiently awaiting a place in heaven were cold comfort for Catholics who tried to resist temptation in the form of advertising that urged them to live for today. Concern for the "next world" was replaced by concern for the "next purchase."

NEW NEEDS

The disappearance of the "traditional society" involved more than an increase of consumer goods in everyday life; it also meant new spending habits. These new habits and standards "emphasized the need for real estate and automobiles, encouraged the substitution of all kinds of insurance for savings, and advocated the use of credit to obtain desired commodities. They also stressed the need for leisure and vacation time, even for ordinary workers."⁶¹

This new social reality was reflected in the way money was used. In the early 20th century, 90% of personal income was spent on essentials, such as food, clothing, and housing. Clearly, little was left for leisure or buying "gadgets," for example. Wages were barely sufficient to cover the cost of necessities. In those days, people were content to simply survive!

However, this situation soon changed. According to O. J. Firestone (1958), in 1947, 63.4% of personal income was spent on necessities while Statistics Canada estimates that only 53.2% of the personal income of Montrealers went toward essentials in 1962.

AN UNLIMITED NUMBER OF CONSUMER PRODUCTS

The above figures reveal an important economic point: the use of a smaller portion of one's personal income for essentials (food, clothing, housing) meant more spending choices. Purchases were no longer limited to necessities, but, instead, extended to areas such as recreation, areas that had never before been considered budget items.

⁶¹ G. Fortin and M. A. Tremblay, *Les comportements économiques de la famille salariée du Québec* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1964), 124. [Free translation]

The purchase of a consumer product was no longer synonymous with satisfying a basic human need; it was now a symbol that distinguished consumers, allowing them to imitate others or to "keep up with the Jones." Styles, clothing, car colour and performance, stereos, and even haircuts made us distinctive, but what we may have gained by owning so many things may have taken its toll in terms of our individual humanity.

Advertising whets the consumer's appetite. Cars beckon to us seductively, Cabbage Patch dolls are put up for adoption, and the human body, whether male or female, is a prop used to sell holidays in the sun or the latest in tanning products. It is an upside-down world. Consumer goods seem to come to life, while human beings grow self-indulgent and lethargic, and dependent on the vitality of the products paraded before them.

Consumer goods are given human qualities. To own these products is somehow to acquire these qualities. It is, of course, all an illusion: consumers project their own desires and attribute human qualities to consumer products, then buy the products in order to take on these same human qualities.

A German philosopher by the name of Feuerbach once said that religion had taken qualities such as goodness, nobility, forgiveness, and piety away from humans and given them to God instead. Advertising claims the remaining human qualities by assigning them to consumer products. In both cases, human beings have contributed to their own loss of humanity.

SOCIETY IN DEBT



The advertising game, in which consumer products become symbolic of prestige, power, liberty, and modernity, plays an essential role in how consumers fit into the modern world. But, unfortunately, this "heaven-on-earth" is not equally accessible to all social classes.

To be part of this world of "progress," consumers have to pay up. Nothing is free. Everything—dreams, desires, recreation, and even human confidence and compassion (the services of a psychologist, for example)—requires money.

For an increasing part of the population, access to this world is a pipe dream. They wait and hope: "Someday I'll win that lottery!" The consumer society has produced its own victims.

For others, going into debt is the only way of becoming part of this modern world. The steady increase in the use of credit since the 1950s is proof of the extent to which the population has been seduced by consumerism.

In 1951, credit purchases and personal loans amounted to \$300 million in Canada; ten years later, it had soared to \$4 319 million, and by 1971 it had reached \$12 673 million.

A study conducted by G. Fortin et al. (1964) shows that in the late 1950s the debt of an average working-class French Canadian family accounted for 12.5% of its income. Another study by A. Laurin indicates that by 1965, the debt per family had reached \$3 500, more than half the average family income for 75% of Québec families.⁶²

But as early as 1959, Fortin observed that "French Canadian working-class families generally speaking used a considerable amount of credit. Seventy-four percent of families had bought on credit at one time or another."⁶³ The consumer products most often bought on credit were those that were the symbols of consumerism: cars, furniture, appliances, and houses. According to this same study, credit for the purchase of cars, houses, or furniture by finance companies, *caisses populaires*, banks and insurance companies accounted for 57%, 63%, and 30%, respectively, of the total loans made by these institutions to their clients.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, credit was essential for the continuation of this consumer society and for economic growth.

With credit, consumers could dip into anticipated sources of income in order to buy a product or make a dream come true instantly. Anything seemed possible: buying a car, a house . . . at least as long as economic growth allowed it. The Consumer Age had arrived.

The Church's power eroded—it could no longer compete with modern city life and consumerism. The traditional society collapsed and new consumer habits developed.

⁶² M. Saint-Germain, *Une économie à libérer, le Québec analysé dans ses structures économiques* (1973): 193.

⁶³ Fortin and Tremblay, *Les comportements économiques de la famille salariée du Québec*, 184. [Free translation]

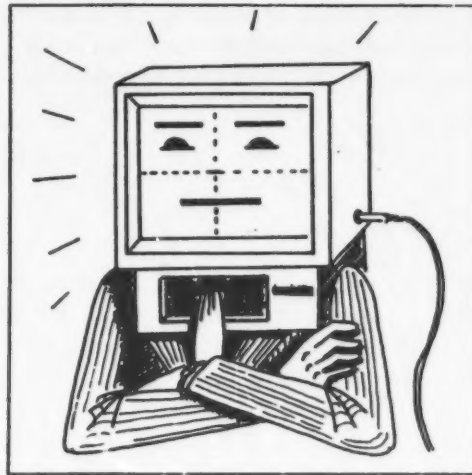
The sky was the limit—to buy was to excel. Purchases were no longer limited to necessities. Advertising whetted consumer appetites.

But to be part of this glamorous world of consumerism, one had to be able to pay. For many people, dreaming and fantasizing were the only antidotes to their inability to buy, buy, buy. Others chose to borrow money in order to jump on the consumer bandwagon.

1.4 EXERCISE 47

Give your opinion of the following factors considered in this study of the rise of the consumer society: decreased religious observance, the virtually unlimited number of consumer products, buying for prestige or to outdo others in conspicuous consumption, advertising, debt.

The Computerized Society



CONSUMERISM LOSES STEAM

Strikes, the questioning of fiscal agreements between Western countries, the first oil crisis, and so on: the Western Hemisphere was plunged into a serious economic crisis beginning in the early 1970s, and no adequate solution has yet been found.

Canada and Québec were certainly not exempt from these economic problems. Québec's annual rate of production dropped from 5.5% in 1965 to 2.1% in 1975. It went back up to 3.1% in 1986, but this was still considerably less than it had been in the 1960s.

At the same time, unemployment went from 3.4% in 1965 to 7.1% in 1975 and to 9.3% in 1986. Even though the inflation rate has dropped over the last few years (2.7% in 1965, 9.3% in 1975, 12.1% in 1981, 4.5% in 1986), this has had very little impact on unemployment or on the economic situation in general.

In spite of attempts by politicians, economists, and sociologists to remedy the situation, the crisis seems to be worsening. We are living in an age when all the principles of economics have been shown to be irrelevant and have been swept aside by an economic situation that defies all logical explanation.

PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

Higher interest rates

Experts hoped that higher interest rates would help to relieve the national debt and contribute to sustainable economic growth. The result? Difficult economic conditions in the early 1980s, with thousands of business bankruptcies, thousands of houses sold at bargain prices because owners could not make their mortgage payments, increased unemployment, and decreased spending.

Lower wages

The same experts also assured us that lower wages would lead to economic stability. The result? Decreased spending. It is obvious; Henry Ford warned us about this at the very start of the century. Decreased earnings mean less spending and more production shutdowns.

Technological revolution

According to the experts, only one door was left open: a technological revolution. Imitate the Japanese. "Robotize" industry. Convince people that the computer was the key to a brighter future.

The computer has had a tremendous impact on our daily lives. The advances it has brought about in all sectors of activity have increased productivity and changed the way we work. Recent developments in computer and communications technology have given rise to a new phenomenon: the home office. For more and more people it is now possible to work at home, as a freelancer or for an employer. Either way, a telephone, fax machine, computer and modem can link you up with clients or with head office, and give you access to electronic billboards, library systems and many other data bases.

By and large, freelancers and home-based employees have flexible working conditions (a big advantage for those with children), and because they have fewer interruptions than they would in a regular office they get more done in a day. Freelancers enjoy the luxury of being their own boss, but must also contend with the ups and downs of the market. Home-based employees must answer to a superior, but can usually count on a steady flow of work, and receive a regular paycheck as well as any benefits offered by the employer. For their part, employers often save money on office space and benefit from an increase in employee motivation and productivity.

The home office isn't for everyone, of course. Some home workers have trouble separating their work life from their personal or family life and find themselves

putting in longer hours than their office counterparts. Others simply prefer going out to work because they value the social aspects of the workplace. Added to this is the concern expressed by labour unions that the new technologies might be used to exploit workers. By way of example, a take-out pizza chain in Toronto has laid off most of its unionized on-site order takers and replaced them with non-unionized workers, who receive customer calls routed to them in their homes. These workers are paid at a lower rate than the unionized employees and have no fringe benefits.

With so many changes in the workplace, it is essential that young people become adept at using computers. Familiarity with this excellent learning tool and educational resource will not only help them to acquire knowledge and skills, but enable them to adapt and to take advantage of career opportunities throughout their working lives.

As we have seen, the computer makes it possible to tap into many different sources of information, including data bases and personal files. Another potential use is copying software. This raises important ethical and legal questions concerning privacy and intellectual property rights. It is important that users show respect for the privacy of others by not accessing personal information without proper authorization and that they understand that it is "unethical and illegal to try to gain access to electronic data or to copy materials created and owned by others."⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, *Computers Across the Curriculum*, Resource Guide, 1993, 5.

In the early 1970s, the Western world was plunged into a serious economic crisis that persists today.

Many remedies have been suggested (higher interest rates, lower wages), but the crisis continues.

As a last resort, experts have proposed a technological revolution based on computers.

Computers have had a profound impact on everyday life. The technology is constantly evolving and becoming more powerful. But for all the advantages that these developments bring, we must not forget the ethical and legal considerations that they give rise to.

1.4 EXERCISE 48

Make a chart showing the annual growth of production, unemployment rate, and inflation rate in Québec for 1965, 1975, and 1986.

1.4 EXERCISE 49

Discuss the impact of the computer on everyday life.



The ideology of progress opened up the age of the consumer society. In the early 20th century, Henry Ford realized that buying could not be limited to a small number of wealthy customers. Two essential prerequisites for widespread consumerism were increased wages for workers and more leisure time. In Québec and the rest of Canada, major social changes occurred in the early 20th century. First of all, agriculture lost its dominant position in the economic structure. The Church, with the help of the provincial government, tried to preserve the agricultural way of life by promoting colonization and by denigrating city life, but to no avail; the exodus of the rural population toward the city continued.

One invention changed the traditional way of life forever. The automobile, while slow to be used by the population at large, eventually transformed everyday life completely.

While Henry Ford's ideas were advanced in the early 20th century, it was not until the 1940s that the social and political mechanisms that would promote consumerism appeared. Starting in the 1950s, the power of the Church weakened; it could no longer compete with urban life and consumerism. The traditional society collapsed and new consumer habits developed. The sky was the limit. To buy was to distinguish oneself. People no longer bought only the products necessary for survival. Advertising whetted consumer appetites. However, the consumer society entered a time of crisis in the early 1970s. Some attempts have been made to improve the economic situation, but the problem is still far from being resolved.

Review Exercises



INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.4

To identify the main technological factors which have contributed to the rise of the consumer society.

1.4 EXERCISE 50

In Henry Ford's *Moving Forward*, he advocated increased wages for workers and more leisure time as means of promoting consumerism. As of 1929, these theories were put into practice in his Detroit factories with convincing results. Was this situation exceptional for this era?

1.4 EXERCISE 51

What fundamental changes have taken place in Québec agriculture and industry in the 20th century?

1.4 EXERCISE 52

Higher wages after 1945 were not the only change in workers' remuneration and social conditions. Identify some others.

1.4 EXERCISE 53

In your opinion, why did the Church so vehemently oppose any intervention by the government in the areas of education, health, and social services in the 19th and 20th centuries?

1.4 EXERCISE 54

Do you agree with the *L'Action Française* journalist who said that "Reading does people more harm than good. It fills the mind with false, foolish, and silly ideas, it encourages violent, unhealthy emotions, and it fuels imaginations with too many unrelated facts and ideas that make heads reel and keep people from thinking about and doing serious business."?

Suggested Reading

Baudrillard, J. *La société de consommation*. Paris: Gallimard, 1970.

Mercier, P. A. *La société digitale, Les nouvelles technologies au futur quotidien*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1984.

Scardigli, Victor. *La consommation culture de quotidien*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983.

SELF-EVALUATION FORM

TERMINAL OBJECTIVE 1

To describe the context of technological changes and their impact on the Western way of life.

1. What are the three key elements in the definition of "technology"?

[illegible]

2. What distinguishes human beings from animals?

3. What does "way of life" mean?

4. Explain the slow pace of technological progress observed in certain early societies, such as that of the Amerindians of Canada.

5. How does the relationship between human beings and nature differ in primitive and modern societies?

6. Summarize what you remember about the technology and way of life of the Amerindians and their ancestors.

7. Comment on the following statement: When the Europeans first arrived in New France, they could have survived without the native peoples.

- [illegible]

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-
-

10. Did the Church exert any influence over 19th-century farmers? Explain.

11. Summarize the everyday life of the 19th-century urban working class, particularly the work of women.

12. Briefly identify the important changes that affected Québec's industrial structure in the early 20th century.

13. Identify the main causes of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

14. Name the three solutions suggested by experts for ending the crisis of the 1970s and 1980s.



PART III
EVALUATION OF LEARNING

Answer Key for the Exercises on the Intermediate Objectives

INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.1 To describe the relationship between technology, nature, and way of life.

- 1.1 EXERCISE 1:**
- a) Discuss your answer with your teacher.
 - b) Discuss your answer with your teacher.

- 1.1 EXERCISE 2:**
- a) Discuss your answer with your teacher.
 - b) Discuss your answer with your teacher.

- 1.1 EXERCISE 3:**
- a) Human beings use reason to adapt to the environment whereas animals depend on instinct.

The human ability to adapt to the environment is constantly improved and passed on from generation to generation, whereas in the animal kingdom, adaptation remains virtually unchanged from one generation to the next.

- b) False. As technologies are discovered and developed, society becomes the living symbol of the link between human beings and nature.
- c) Consult your teacher.

- 1.1 EXERCISE 4:**
- a) Through magic or the pure sciences (e.g., geometry, mathematics). The result: disdain for manual labour, technology, and the slaves who applied these techniques.
 - b) Consult your teacher.

REVIEW EXERCISE FOR INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.1

- 1.1 EXERCISE 5:**
- a) Technology refers to the means used to produce objects and machines which improve the lives of human beings. It is any action or activity through which human beings and nature interact. It results from the need to either adapt to or to change the environment. Technology is cumulative and society is living testimony to all the activities and actions of the past.
 - b) False. Technology is a reflection of the way societies adapt to the environment; it responds to the social needs of the time while taking into account the technological heritage of the past.
 - c) False. Discuss your comments with your teacher.

INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.2

To describe the pre-industrial technologies and the foundations they laid for the dominant way of life.

1.2 EXERCISE 6: Soft technology develops in harmony with the environment. It implies an in-depth knowledge of the environment, and it respects the laws that govern that environment.

Hard technology has a negative impact on the environment. "Environment" is used in its broadest sense.

1.2 EXERCISE 7: a) Nomads, mammoth hunters, tools made of stone and bone. Toward the end of this period, flint projectile points were used; this shows that hunting methods were becoming increasingly refined and that hunting was a cooperative venture.

b) An economy based on big-game hunting and another based on gathering and small-game hunting.

c) True. Generally speaking, small mammals migrated shorter distances than large mammals.

1.2 EXERCISE 8: a) Climate, improved hunting techniques, and increased human population late in the Paleoindian period led to their extinction.

b) The later Paleoindian societies had to go through a period of transition during which much of the technology of the past became obsolete. This was a temporary setback for the societies concerned.

1.2 EXERCISE 9: a) Hunting, fishing, and gathering (not necessarily in that order).

b) False. In Iroquois society, life became sedentary around 3 000 years ago.

c) Consult your teacher.

- d) This statement is false because at different times throughout this period groups met and interacted (in the broader sense of exchanging goods, techniques, traditions, rituals). Marriages and ceremonies to honour the dead took place.

1.2 EXERCISE 10:

- a) They were personalized and skilfully crafted. They acted as mediators between hunters and their quarry. They were environment-friendly. They were sacred artifacts and objects that recorded the personal history of each individual's struggle to survive and to live in harmony with nature.
- b) Unlike fireplaces, which require chimneys to draw heat away, oil lamps provided a more uniform heat and light source since they did not give off smoke. They could be used safely inside igloos.

1.2 EXERCISE 11:

- a) Consult your teacher.
- b) Illness meant misconduct against the tribe. Tribal support, granted after public confession of the deed, ensured recovery from the illness. This way, members of the tribe learned what had to be avoided, a moral code was established, and the anguish caused by a guilty conscience was removed.
- c) Your answer should contain at least these three elements: they had knowledge gained from gathering, lived a semi-sedentary lifestyle, and were part of a matriarchal society.

1.2 EXERCISE 12:

- a) - Sharing resulting in a new culture
- Assimilation
- Acculturation
- b) Consult your teacher.
- c) They did not have to; they were in a position of power because the French depended on them for their survival.

1.2 EXERCISE 13: Consult your teacher.

- 1.2 EXERCISE 14:**
- a) The conflict revolved around who would make the most effective mediator with the spiritual world: the priest or the shaman. Ultimately, it was control over the native peoples that was at stake.
 - b) The priests won out and the Amerindian way of life came to an end. God's might, personified in priests, inspired fear, fear of disease and death. Having abandoned their former beliefs, the Amerindians became a lost people without a history; they lost their traditions and rituals in a continuing acculturation process.

1.2 EXERCISE 15: Give your own opinion. Try to form your own hypothesis. Your answer does not necessarily have to be a straight "yes" or "no."

Discuss your answer with your teacher and defend your position.

1.2 EXERCISE 16: The strategic position of the Iroquois, especially after the extinction of the Huron, put them at the very heart of the fur trade and ensured their monopoly over this trade. Their frequent attacks on established settlements, such as Québec City, Montréal, and Trois-Rivières, caused great unrest.

After three successive wars (1620, 1634, 1675), a peace treaty was signed, but only because the French realized that the Iroquois territory could be used as a buffer zone between themselves and the English settlements. The European way of life could not flourish unless this harassment by the Iroquois ceased.

- 1.2 EXERCISE 17:**
- a) These two elements were part of the way of life in Normandy and were brought to Canada, thereby continuing Norman traditions.
 - b) Fieldstone, dressed sandstone, combination of wooden planks and mortar (half-timber technique)
 - c) Hôtel-Dieu Hospital
 - d) Furs and rich farmland

REVIEW EXERCISES FOR INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.2

- 1.2 EXERCISE 18:**
- a) The flint projectile point.
 - b) Economy based on big-game hunting, economy based on gathering and small-game hunting.
 - c) False. It was the law of adaptation to the environment that was in operation, a sign of a certain degree of understanding of the environment.
 - d) Consult your teacher.
 - e) The Algonquin believed that an unwashed fishing net contained the spirit of dead fish, and that these dead fish could communicate with their living counterparts. The same was true if fishbones were fed to the dogs: they believed that news of such an insult would spread to other fish. In both cases, fishing could be adversely affected.
 - f) Their knowledge of edible plants, their use of agriculture as a stable means of subsistence, and the fact that the Iroquois had a matriarchal society.
 - g) Cellars were built to counteract the cold and dampness.
 - h) Consult your teacher.
 - i) The British had the political will to colonize because of conditions in England and because of the American Revolution (1775-1783), which resulted in the settlement of southern Ontario by Loyalists.

INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.3

To describe the main technological changes that took place in the industrial era and their impact on the dominant way of life.

1.3 EXERCISE 19: Consult your teacher.

- 1.3 EXERCISE 20:**
- a) In the 19th century, men's summertime activities revolved around planting and harvesting, while the women spent their time preparing and tending their gardens and preserving. These activities marked the start and finish of the summer in rural Québec.
 - b) Everyone was the master of his or her own time. Farmers organized their own schedules and decided when to work and when to rest. Your answer may differ from this one. Discuss your answer with your teacher.
 - c) Discuss your answer with your teacher.

1.3 EXERCISE 21: In the sections on Intermediate Objectives 1 and 2, you learned that the invention of machines or technical objects that act as mediators between man and nature is an ongoing activity. The most important innovation of the 19th century was not the invention of state-of-the-art machines, but rather the fact that machines became the basis for a complete change in work methods. Human beings and their tools were no longer the basic production unit. Instead, machines predominated, and the number of workers operating them was reduced. Manufacturing and work in general were regulated by machines. Human labour was secondary. This is why Mantoux refers to "mechanization." Your answer may differ slightly from this one. Discuss it with your teacher.

- 1.3 EXERCISE 22:** Data processing in general allows for rapid dissemination of information, which is very convenient in many fields such as the service industries.

Automatic tellers, open 24 hours a day, seven days a week, decrease the need for bank tellers. There are many other examples. Check with your teacher to see whether yours are correct.

- 1.3 EXERCISE 23:** Generally speaking, American movies about this era depict Indians as "savages."

Discuss your answer with your teacher.

- 1.3 EXERCISE 24:**
- a) Sales catalogues
 - b) Railways made it easy for urban businesses to expand their markets into rural areas, which were crisscrossed by trains. Rural residents could choose what they wanted from catalogues, place their orders, and receive the merchandise in less time than it would have taken using traditional means of transportation, such as wagons, canoes, and so on.
 - c) Sears offers a catalogue service within Canada. This way, even the most remote areas can be served. Other stores use catalogues as well.

Some stores, such as the Consumers Distributing chain, deal exclusively in catalogue sales. Less floor space is required for displaying merchandise. Operational costs are lower, and this allows stores to offer lower prices.

Discuss your answer with your teacher.

- 1.3 EXERCISE 25:** The answer to this question will come to you after you have read the text. Before reading up on this topic, take a look at the tables.

Present your "study" to your employer (played by the teacher). Maybe you can get that salary increase after all!

- 1.3 EXERCISE 26:** Consult your teacher.

- 1.3 EXERCISE 27:** a) Consult your teacher.

- b) Possible answers include the sawmill, the wagon, the train, and the woodstove.

1.3 EXERCISE 28: Means of transportation in common use in the 19th century:

Sailboats (wooden) - This had been the principal means of ocean travel for several centuries.

Railways - Railways and steam locomotives revolutionized 19th-century travel.

Steamships - The steam locomotive and the steamship owe their existence to the invention and widespread use of the steam engine.

Horse-drawn carriages

Streetcars - Streetcars first appeared in Canada at the end of the 19th century in cities such as Toronto, Montréal, and Québec.

Wagons - Wagons were often used to transport goods, especially in urban centres. They were the 19th-century equivalent of delivery trucks.

Canoes and rowboats - Canoes and rowboats had been common means of transportation for a long time. (Wooden sailing vessels and, later, iron-hulled steamships, were the main means of transportation.)

Obviously, canoes and rowboats were the most commonly used means of water transportation.

On land, horse-drawn wagons and carriages were used. These were the most common means of urban transportation. Only in the second half of the century did horse-drawn streetcars appear (later replaced by electrically powered ones).

Finally, the revolution of the century is symbolized by the railway and the chimney smoke from steam locomotives.

Automobiles, trucks, motorcycles, and airplanes were not part of the 19th-century scene.

1.3 EXERCISE 29: Discuss your answer with your teacher.

1.3 EXERCISE 30: In 1861, lumber, food, iron and steel, leather, and textiles were the most important industries.

In 1901, food ranked first, followed by leather, clothing, lumber, and iron and steel.

The same industries existed in 1861 and 1901, but the standing of each differed. It is safe to say that Québec's industrial structure changed relatively little at the end of the 19th century.

1.3 EXERCISE 31: The three main urban centres in 1861 in Québec were the Montréal region, Montréal proper, and Québec City. Note the predominance of Montréal even at this early stage. In 1901, the same cities were still at the head of the race, but certain other cities, such as Hull, Sherbrooke, and Valleyfield, had also mushroomed during this era.

REVIEW EXERCISES FOR INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.3

1.3 EXERCISE 32: Discuss your answer with your teacher.

- 1.3 EXERCISE 33:**
- a) True
 - b) True
 - c) False. People in that era worked on machines in factories and were no longer their own bosses, whereas before they had worked on farms or in their homes on their own time.
 - d) False. Electricity appeared as a usable energy source in the second half of the 19th century.
 - e) True
 - f) True
 - g) False. After 1875, several regions specialized, mostly in dairy production.
 - h) True
 - i) False. Farmhouses were bigger and better heated than city or town houses.
 - j) True
 - k) False. Railways made their appearance in the first half of the 19th century, thereby revolutionizing transportation.
 - l) False. At the end of the 19th century, the rural population still predominated in Québec and Canada, but the urban population was increasing at the expense of the rural population.
 - m) True
 - n) True

INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.4

To identify the main technological factors which have contributed to the rise of the consumer society.

- 1.4 EXERCISE 34:** He argued that higher wages meant more spending by workers. This increase in spending encouraged increased industrial production. With factories working at full capacity, jobs could be created.

However, in addition to increasing wages, it was essential that the workweek be shortened. To be able to buy more, workers needed more free time.

Henry Ford felt that higher wages and more free time were the wheels that would get consumerism moving.

- 1.4 EXERCISE 35:** Discuss your answer with your teacher.

Henry Ford's ideas have been widely applied since the end of World War II (1945). We live in a world in which consumerism and leisure time are of primary importance.

- 1.4 EXERCISE 36:**
- a) This increase indicated that production using readily available labour was giving way to production based on the increasing use of technology.
 - b) At first, the industrial structure was characterized by an abundance of small industries which used little technology and which produced primarily for the Canadian market. From the late 19th century onward, however, new sectors based on the use of natural resources emerged. These sectors used modern technology and produced for the export market.
 - c) Discuss your answer with your teacher.

1.4 EXERCISE 37: a) While agriculture's share of production was 40.9% in 1870, by 1930 it had dropped to 14.9%.

b) Agriculture became increasingly mechanized.

1.4 EXERCISE 38: Your teacher is the best judge of your comments. However, here is an example.

The article denounces the pitiful living conditions in the city (cramped living quarters, difficult neighbours, illness, high cost of living). But most of all, it says that even though at first sight wages seemed attractive to people from the country, in truth, sickness and unemployment could shatter this myth of the easy life and force urban families to resort to charity.

The article tries to show, by way of contrast, how when farmers got sick, at least they did not lose what they owned. During their recovery, they could always delegate some of the work to other people.

Without steady wages, city dwellers had absolutely no resources because they owned nothing, whereas farmers did not lose their property quite as easily and could live off the land.

1.4 EXERCISE 39: Discuss your answer with your teacher.

1.4 EXERCISE 40: On the provincial level, no legislative measures regarding education were taken by the Québec government despite the fact that the Protestant Committee recommended compulsory school attendance for their children.

In the area of health and social services, a law concerning public assistance was voted in by the Québec government in 1921. This law helped to deal with the most extreme cases of poverty that resulted from the dissolution of social and family ties, but it was far from a universal right. Private charity and cooperation between people continued to be regarded by the authorities as the basis of all assistance to the poor.

In 1927, the federal government adopted the Old Age Pension Act in order to provide support for the poorest senior citizens. This law generated a heated debate in Québec, and

it was not until 1936, once the Union Nationale consented to participate in the federal program, that old age pensions were awarded.

- 1.4 EXERCISE 41:** Your teacher is the best judge of the quality of your survey and of the usefulness of the comments you have compiled.
- 1.4 EXERCISE 42:** Over-industrialization during World War 1 (1914-1918); European trade tariffs set up after the war; low wages and excessive profits; lack of government policies regarding income assistance.
- 1.4 EXERCISE 43:** False. In all Western countries, governments maintained that social support should come from private charity and family cooperation.
- 1.4 EXERCISE 44:**
- a) True. Discuss your answer with your teacher.
 - b) The growing number of wage earners meant that there were more consumers dependent on consumer goods.
 - c) Discuss your answer with your teacher.
- 1.4 EXERCISE 45:** Before the 1960s, educational institutions were administered and controlled by the Church. Maurice Duplessis' government systematically refused to question this state of affairs, in spite of the fact that the schools' finances and material conditions were deplorable.
- In 1960, Jean Lesage's Liberal government decided to question the authority of the Church, and in 1964, the formation of a commission of inquiry (the Parent Commission) was announced. This laid the groundwork for radical reforms to Québec's educational system. The ministère de l'Éducation was created in 1964. A variety of subsequent reforms promoted education in Québec.
- 1.4 EXERCISE 46:**
- a) The federal government submitted its recommendations for the first time at a provincial premiers' conference in 1944. After two years of debate, these recommendations were rejected.
 - b) The federal government took up the matter again in 1958 and finally had its bill on hospital insurance approved by all provinces except one.

- c) Québec once again refused to participate in the program.
- d) The Hospital Insurance Act was adopted by Jean Lesage's Liberal government in 1961.
- e) Discuss your answer with your teacher.

1.4 EXERCISE 47: Discuss your answer with your teacher.

1.4 EXERCISE 48:

Year	Annual growth of production (%)	Unemployment rate (%)	Inflation rate (%)
1965	5.5	3.4	2.7
1975	2.1	7.1	9.3
1986	3.1	9.3	4.5

Your table may be slightly different from this one. Consult your teacher.

1.4 EXERCISE 49: Discuss your answer with your teacher.

REVIEW EXERCISES FOR INTERMEDIATE OBJECTIVE 1.4

1.4 EXERCISE 50: Ford's factory workers were an exception to the rule—their consumer habits were not typical of those of workers in other industrialized countries. Consumer societies appeared in the Western world only after World War II. The Consumer Age that would continue for the next 30 years had just begun.

1.4 EXERCISE 51: Throughout the 20th century, agriculture fell behind industrial production (1920: 37%; 1955: 6.3%).

Technology was increasingly used in the industrial workplace. Light industries that used labour gave way to new technologically advanced industries based on the development of natural resources.

After 1945, certain changes occurred: the mineral, construction, and manufacturing sectors developed, with manufacturing enjoying the most gains due to the phenomenal increase in the number and variety of consumer products. Its progress would be halted only by the economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s.

1.4 EXERCISE 52:

- legal recognition of labour unions
- collective agreements
- indexation of earnings to the cost of living
- the administration of education, health, and social services by the various levels of government

1.4 EXERCISE 53: Since the mid-19th century, the Church had had jurisdiction over educational and social institutions in Québec. These institutions were the bases for maintaining the Church's ideological, social, and political hold over the predominantly Catholic French Canadian population. Losing the management of these institutions meant losing a substantial amount of power. The disenchantment of French Canadians with the Church after 1960 is proof of this.

1.4 EXERCISE 54: Discuss your answer with your teacher.

Answer Key for the Self-Evaluation Form

1. - Technology includes activities in which humans interact with nature. The goal of these activities is twofold:
 - adaptation to the natural environment
 - the transformation of the natural environment to suit human needs.
- Human technological activity is cumulative; it develops from one generation to the next.
- Social organization is a key factor in the transmission of technical knowledge from one era to the next.
2. Human beings differ from animals not only because they use tools, but because they interact with nature within a social framework.
3. Our "way of life" defines our relationship with the world. How we organize our activities such as work, consumption and leisure is determined by our way of life, as are the ideological standards for the activities and the technologies we use to perform them.
4. The slow pace of technological progress is a sign that social and community pressures were being exerted to control technology. The native peoples of Canada used other means of communicating with nature, such as magic, dance, and dreams. Every member of the community was systematically initiated into all technologies. In fact, every activity, whether it was manifested physically through the use of tools (hunting, fishing, farming) or not (dreams, magic, illness), required in-depth knowledge of its origins if the activity was to be properly executed.
5. Whereas all members of primitive societies knew and mastered the human being/nature relationship, in modern societies, only scientists have this knowledge.

6. Discuss your answer with your teacher.
7. Discuss your answer with your teacher.
8. Time in this context means pace of life, which, in practical terms, is the pace set by activities associated with work and production. For example, 19th-century farmers spent long hours in the fields in the summer, yet they controlled their daily schedule, as did the artisans who lived in the city.

Factory workers lost control over time because they worked for employers who, in turn, provided equipment and a workplace for them. Work schedules were fixed by employers and workers had to adapt to this timetable.

Your answer may differ slightly from this one. Consult your teacher.

9. Discuss your answer with your teacher.
10. To cope with the forces of nature, farmers turned to religion, among other things. Seeds were blessed before being planted and religious processions took place in the fields.

The Church in Québec promoted agriculture and encouraged the settling of new lands. Many people responded to this call.

Discuss your answer with your teacher.

11. Discuss your answer with your teacher.
12. At first, Canada's industrial profile was made up of light, largely non-mechanized industries which were geared to domestic markets. However, in the late 19th century, new sectors, based on the exploitation of natural resources (such as hydroelectricity), developed. These sectors used modern technology and were geared toward the export market.
13.
 - Over-industrialization during World War I (1914-1918)
 - European trade tariffs imposed after World War I
 - Low wages and excessive profits
 - Lack of government policies concerning income assistance

14. - Increased interest rates
- Decreased wage earnings
 - The technological revolution

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